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Vol. XVI. PART I.

TRANSACTIONS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO PART I, VOL. XVI.

Previous to the outbreak of War in September, 1939, preparations were well advanced for the publication of the Jubilee Volume of the Book of Buchan, but owing to subsequent restrictions on the manufacture and use of paper it has been decided to suspend indefinitely the printing of the Volume.

Two Sections, running to about 100 pages, have been set in type. The circular (also in type) advertising the book, which was to be sent out to members of the Club and to members of scientific societies and public bodies will not be issued until it is clear whether or not the printing of the Book of Buchan can be resumed.

It has, however, been found possible to arrange for the printing of a small portion of Vol. XVI of the Transactions, as Part I. A number of contributions will appear in this volume from time to time if funds are available and printing is possible. It has been decided that a number of chapters written by contributors for the Book of Buchan will appear in the Transactions. This is being done as evidence of the indebtedness of the Club to the contributors and as a gesture of our gratitude to those who have taken the trouble to write chapters for the Jubilee Volume. This part contains four valuable papers intended for the Book of Buchan, namely (1) "The Family of Gregory" by Mr Walter R. Humphries, M.A., Principal Teacher of English in Robert Gordon's College; (2) "The Burgh of Peterhead" by Mr Alexander Davidson, Town Clerk, Peterhead; (3) "Local Government" by Mr James Cruickshank, Stoneywood, Convener of the Finance Committee of the County; and (4) "Mediaeval Buchan—Its Castles and Churches" by Dr W. Douglas Simpson, Librarian, The University, Aberdeen.

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PAPER ON "THE FAMILY OF GREGORY" BY WALTER R. HUMPHRIES, M.A.

The family of Gregory, certainly by far and away the most distinguished family that has sprung from the north-east of Scotland, has in the past received a considerable amount of deserved attention and any writer who attempts a venture such as the present must of necessity make use of knowledge that was once familiar though perhaps not quite so familiar now. But, by a happy accident, the necessity is not, in the present instance, so formidable as it might have been. While working on the manuscript remains of Thomas Reid, the celebrated Scottish philosopher, which are preserved at Birkwood, Banchory, I came upon a paper, in Reid's handwriting, headed "The Genealogy of the Gregorys" which proved, on examination, to contain some very curious particulars and which had never been published. Reid himself belongs to the Gregory family, being the grandson of David Gregory, the Laird of Kinairdy, brother of James Gregory, the mathematical compeer of Barrow, Newton and Liebnitz. The manuscript is in exceedingly frail condition and extreme care had to be exercised in making a transcript. What I have done is to make this Genealogy the framework of the present article and to add in brackets further information not so generally known regarding some of the more celebrated members of this astonishing family; this further information has been gathered mainly from Reid's letters and manuscript remains. The condition of the writing suggests that Reid wrote his account of the Gregorys about 1750 and the opening sentence reminds us that the Gregorys were related to the Children of the Mist and came in time, as we shall see, to count cousins with Rob Roy Macgregor.

> "A Gentleman of the Name of McGregor, a Son of the Family of Rora in Glen Lyon came down to the Boyn and was married to the Laird of Findlater's daughter. With her he had ten sons of whom one James was Sirnamed Gregory and was settled by Findlater as his Chamberlain at Woodland in the Parish of Udny. He was married to Agnes Moir Sister to William Moir of Ferryhill he died in Decr. 11, 1584. In his Testament we find one

of his Brothers named Thomas Mentioned as one of his Creditors. With his wife he left James, Thomas & Jannet Gregorys Surviving Children. James was a Sadler in Aberdeen and was several times Deacon Convener he Married Margaret Barber a Merchants Daughter by her he had two sons John and James Gregorys; This last was a Merchant in Aberdeen and married Marjory Tough by whom he left one surviving Daughter Margaret who died unmarried at Aberdeen aged 70 years in the year 1701.

"John was educated at Schools and the College of Aberdeen whither he went with Dr Hay* the first Principal of the College of Aberdeen who was called there to be Professor of Divinity. Mr John Gregory was made Minister of Drumoak in 22 years of age and dyed there of an Ague aged 54 Anno 1652. He was married to Jannet Anderson Daughter to David Anderson of Finzauch and left Alexander David James Margaret and Jannet Gregorys his children."

(The David Anderson of Finzauch mentioned here was the celebrated citizen who has been happily denominated by Professor Turnbull 'The Archimedes of Aberdeen,' and who may well be regarded as the parent and original of the Gregory inspiration. Reid, who was his great grandson, gives in another place some very interesting information concerning him. "Every public work," says he, "which surpassed the skill of common artists was committed to the management of David, of whose education I know nothing but who seems to have been a self taught engineer. Such a reputation he acquired by his success in works of this kind that with the vulgar he got the by-name of 'Davie do a' thing' and by this appellation he is better known than by his proper name. He raised the great bells into the steeple of the principal church: he cut a passage for ships of burden through a ridge of rock under water which crossed the entrance into the harbour of Aberdeen. In a long picture gallery at Cullen House, the seat of the Earl of Findlater, the wooden ceiling is painted with several of the fables of Ovid's Metamorphoses. The colours are still bright and the

*Reid has slipped with the name here. The man referred to I take to be Dr Gray who was Principal of Marischal College from 1598 to 1614.

representation lively. The present earl's grandfather told me that this painting was the work of David Anderson my ancestor whom he acknowledged as a friend and relation of his family."

It will be noticed that in this account Reid agrees with the commonly accepted tradition that *Davie do a' thing* was the first citizen of Aberdeen to apply his wits successfully to the problem of harbour improvement but it will be noticed also that his description of the manner in which the improvement was effected differs from that which has come down to us by tradition. According to this latter and less probable account Davie removed the great stone called "Knock Maitland" or "Craig Metellan," which had for long obstructed the entry to Aberdeen Harbour and defied many previous efforts to remove, by securing a number of empty casks to the stone at low water. When the incoming tide lifted the mass from its bed, he seated himself on one of the barrels and sailed up the harbour amidst the cheers of his delighted fellow townsmen. The operation is said, on what authority I don't know, to have cost the Town Council three hundred merks. Also of interest are Reid's remarks about Davie's artistic powers, for George Jamesone who was his nephew and who painted him, learned his craft from Davie's brother John Anderson, painter in Edinburgh, to whom he was bound apprentice in 1612. These facts taken together afford not improbable grounds for supposing that John Anderson may have been a better painter than has been hitherto realised or conceded and that Jamesone need not have visited the Low Countries, where he has so far been sought in vain, to acquire his superb artistic skill. The point is of some importance to historians of Scottish Art.)

> "Alexander was married to Jean Ross Daughter to Dr. Ross Minister in Aberdeen. He was murthered by Francis Creighton Brother to the Viscount of Frendraught in March, 1664. He left no issue."

(The person who was indicted for the murder, however, was not Francis Creighton but the Viscount himself. The atrocious circumstances of the murder, as detailed in the records of the Scottish Criminal Court throw a lurid light on the times. In 1664 Alexander Gregory, who held, in security, a part of the estate of Frendraught, was decoyed by Francis Crichton, the Viscount's uncle, to accompany him

to the house of Bognie, where that nobleman then lodged. On the way he was assaulted by Crichton and his servant; and after he had surrendered his arms, was wounded by them with swords and pistols and then carried a prisoner to Bognie. Here he was watched during the night, among others by the Viscount, whose servants next day, early in a cold morning, threw him across a horse, his wounds undressed and bleeding, and brought him to a lone cottage where he was left till found by his friends, who conveyed him to Aberdeen, where, after languishing for a few days, he died. Mr Francis and his servant did not compeer. The relevancy of the libel against Lord Frendraught was impugned on the ground that the crimes libelled being only statutory and the pannel a minor, they ought not pass to an assize. But though the libel was found relevant, the proof seems to have been defective; the jury, at least, found a verdict of acquittal.*)

> "He was succeeded by his brother David to whom he left the Estate of Kinardy who married first Anno 1655 Jean Walker Daughter to Patrick Walker of Orchiston, Merchant in Aberdeen by her he had 15 children. All died young but Six David James Jean who died unmarried Isobel, Jannet died unmarried and Christian. He married next Isobel Gordon† Daughter to John Gordon Bailie and Merchant in Aberdeen. By her he had fourteen children. Alexr. who was lost by sea going to Holland. John who was a Factor at Campveer and died at Edinburgh Anno Charles, William who died a young Ladd, George, Arthur who died when at the College Anno 1715 Margaret, Jean, Mary who died unmarried and Anna."

(David Gregory, Laird of Kinairdy, was perhaps the most extraordinary member of this most extraordinary family. Reid has

*Information supplied by Sir William Hamilton by Duncan Gregory and James Maidment, Esquires.

†"Kinairdy's widow was alive when I first went to Aberdeen in April, 1722; but old and bed rid. I never saw a more lady-like woman. I was now and then called in to her room where she sat up in her bed and entertained me with sweetmeats and grave advices. Her daughters treated her as if she had been of superior rank; and indeed her appearance and manner commanded respect. I don't believe that she could ever descend so far from her dignity and magnanimity as to scold." Letter of Reid to Dr James Gregory, 1787. At the time of the incident described Reid was twelve years old.

preserved many curious facts about him which are worth recording. Kinairdy after attending Marischal College for a time—he is in the 1641 list of Bajans though there is no record of his graduating—served apprentice to a merchant in Holland and continued there till the murder of his elder brother. According to Reid he followed the mercantile profession no longer than he was under authority "having a stronger passion for knowledge than for money." He returned to his own country in 1655, being about 28 years of age, and from that time, says his grandson, "he led the life of a philosopher." Kinairdy "was a jest among the neighbouring gentlemen for his ignorance of what was doing about his own farm, but an oracle on matters of learning and philosophy." Apparently Kinairdy studied medicine for amusement and he was much employed as a physician not only by the poor but by the nobility, from neither of whom he took fees. Reid says that Kinairdy's hours of study were "singular." "Being much occupied through the day with those who applied to him as a physician he went early to bed, rose about two or three in the morning and, after applying to his studies for some hours went to bed again and slept an hour or two before his breakfast."

Reid adds that Kinairdy's younger brother and Kinairdy's sons "had their mathematical education from him." Considering that the younger brother mentioned here is the great James Gregory and that three of the sons became Professors of Mathematics in British Universities, one of them David, being Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, we may say that this in itself would mark Kinairdy out as no ordinary country laird. But to return to Reid's account of him. Kinairdy had a barometer and had a correspondence with some foreigners, particularly with Mariotta, on barometrical observations. As a barometer, continues Reid, had never been heard of in this country (i.e. district) before, he was once in danger of being brought to some trouble by the Presbytery on account of it.

Reid is here referring to the occasion when Kinairdy, warned by his barometer that an autumn storm was brewing, took in his crop while the surrounding farmers, confident of the fine weather, left theirs out and were ruined. The Presbytery then invited Kinairdy to explain how, short of witchcraft, he had fore-knowledge of the storm when, on

the testimony of everyone, there was not a cloud to be seen in the sky. He narrowly escaped a charge of conjuration.

The next story that Reid relates of Kinairdy is so amazing that it demands wholly literal transcription.

> "In Queen Ann's War, Kinairdy employed himself upon an invention for improving the effect of fire-arms, of which he at last completed a model and sent it to his son David at Oxford, that he might take the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton about it. I have heard my mother say that he was so sanguine upon this project, that he intended to make a campaign in Flanders himself and prepared for it. But it is said that Sir I. Newton persuaded the suppression of the invention as destructive of the human species and it was never brought to light. I knew a clockmaker in Aberdeen who made all the parts by Kinairdy's direction; but never saw them put together and could give no account of the principles of it."

With what feelings of admiration does the harassed modern, beset with multiplied scientific methods of destruction, read this humane account!

Reid also embodies in his account of Kinairdy an altogether delightful narrative which he tells with such quaint old-world grace that to shorten or paraphrase would be a sin.

> "On some occasion his wife, I know not which wife, insisted very peremptorily that he should correct two of his sons which, it seems, he was not accustomed to do; but the offence was such that nothing less would satisfy the wife. He took them to a room where his saddle and bridle hung and shut the door. What satisfaction he required for the fault I know not; but after the matter was compromised he took the bridle and lashed the said saddle very unmercifully, and ordered the boys to cry, which they did most pitifully. The mother, hearing the noise, thought the boys would be killed, and wanted to interpose, but the door was bolted. She was forced to stand behind the door and felt every stroke more than either the saddle or the boys, resolving never again to trust her husband with the rod of correction."

Kinairdy was also an author and wrote memoirs of his times but, as they were unfavourable to the Covenant, "the idol of the Presbyterians at that time," they were never published. I suppose they are

lost now and must be numbered among the treasures of the past that one fain would possess.)

To return to the "Genealogy." "Mr John Gregory's eldest daughter Margaret was married to Tho Mercer Merchant in Abdn. they left James Agnes Jean Christian Isobel Mercers their Children.

"The youngest daughter Jannet was married to Thomas Thomson of Faithfield, she left him three Daughters Isobel married to Irvine of Crimond now of Drum, Jannet and Margaret Thomsons.

"Mr John Gregory's third son was born in Novr. 1638 was educated at the Schools and College of Aberdeen. He studied Successfully the Mathematicks particularly at Padua. He published four treatises viz. Optica promota seu abdita radiorum Reflexorum & Refractionum Mysteria Geometrice enucleata cui Subnectitur Appendix Subtilissimorum Astronomiæ Problematwn resolutionem exhibens 4to Londini 1663. Next Geometriæ pars universalis inserviens quantitatum Curvarum Transmutationi & Mensuræ Patavij 1668. The third was Vera Circuli & Hyperbolæ Quadratura in propria Sua proportionis inverta & Demonstrata 4to Patavij 1668 and Lastly Exercitationes Geometriæ 4to Londini 1668.

"He was six years professor of Mathematicks of St. Andrews from that he was called to the same Profession in the College of Edinburgh, he was a little more than a year there when from a cold catched in his head he was suddenly seized with a Gutta Serena* and died a few days after in October 1675 aged thirty-seven. He was married Anno 1669 to Mary Jameson, Daughter to George Jameson, Patriae suae Apelles. She was first married to John Burnet of Elrick Merchant and Baily of Abdn. who left her a widow of 23 years of Age with two sons. She had to Mr James Gregory one son James, Helen Jannet also Isabel who lived but a few hours."

(This is the man who is remembered as one of the most distinguished Scotsmen not only of his own, but of any generation. I have

*Gutta Serena or Amaurosis—partial or total loss of sight arising from disease of the optic nerve, usually without external change of the eye.

already said that he owed his mathematical education to his brother, David of Kinairdy. Reid tells, in another place, a curious story concerning this. It is that his brother David, being ten or eleven years older, had the direction of his education after their father's death and when James had finished his course of philosophy he was at a loss to what literary profession he should put him. After some unsuccessful trials, says Reid, he put Euclid's Elements into his hand and finding that he applied to Euclid with great avidity and success he encouraged and assisted him in his mathematical studies. According to Reid this agrees with what James Gregory himself says in the Preface to "Optica Promota" where after mentioning his advance to the 26th proposition he adds: "Ubi diu hæsi omne spe progrediendi orbatus, sed continuis hortatibus et auxiliis fratris mei Davidis Gregorii, in Mathematicis non parum versati (cui si quid in hisce Scientiis praestitero me illud debere non inficias ibo) animatus, tandem incidi . . . . "

Gregory's earliest work "Optica Promota" which he published when he was twenty-four is of great scientific importance because it contained the first feasible description of a reflecting telescope, his invention of which dated from 1661. "It consisted essentially," says the D.N.B., "of a perforated parabolic speculum in which the eye-piece was inserted with a small elliptical mirror placed in front to turn back the image. Gregory went to London and ordered one of six feet from the celebrated optician Reive but the figure proved so bad that the attempt was abandoned." One learns from Mr William Alexander that the failure is to be traced to the insufficient polishing of the object speculum of metal and the difficulty, in Newton's phrase, "of attaining the art of communicating the parabolic figure." These, however, were successfully overcome by Newton whose skill in Mechanics was superior to that of Gregory and Newton himself has set it on record that his telescope was simply an adaptation of that described by Gregory. It should perhaps also be mentioned that in "Optica Promota" Gregory has the distinction of pointing out for the first time the utility of the transits of the inferior planets in furnishing an accurate method of determining the value of the solar parallax.

The next publication of Gregory mentioned by Reid "Geometriæ pars Universalis" was not a separate publication but was appended to the reprint of "Veri Circuli et Hyperbolæ Quadratura" (1668). The

latter work was first published in a limited edition of one hundred and fifty copies in 1667. This Reid apparently did not know. These publications gained Gregory a deservedly high reputation though the earlier work "Vera Circuli" involved him in a warm controversy with Huygens in which Gregory seems to have shown less than his usual urbanity. He answered the more important objections of Huygens, at the same time complaining of his "unjust censures" in the last work cited by Reid "Exercitationes Geometriæ."

Gregory was on very good terms with Newton though I have never seen that the two men met. In relation to Newton, a story, very highly honourable to Gregory, has been preserved by Reid: "To what is said of James Gregory might have been added that he was led by analogy to the true law of refraction, not knowing that it was discovered before by Descartes and that in 1670, having received in a letter from Collins, a Series for the Area of the Zone of a Circle, and as Newton had invented a universal method by which he could square all Curves Geometrical and Mechanical by Infinite Series of that kind, Gregory after much thought, discovered this universal method or an equivalent one. Of this he perfectly satisfied Newton and other mathematicians of that time by a letter to Collins in February 1671. He was strongly solicited by his brother David to publish his Universal Method of Series without delay, but excused himself upon a point of honour, that as Newton was the first inventor and as he had been led to it by an account of Newton's having such a method, he thought himself bound to wait till Newton should publish his method. I have seen the letters that passed between the brothers on this subject."

Gregory was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 11th June, 1668, and late in the same year he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in St. Andrews. Professor Turnbull suggests that the Chair, which was a new one, was expressly instituted to give Gregory an opportunity for his researches. Thereafter most of his time seems to have been engrossed by these and by his academic work. His removal to Edinburgh was necessitated by the hostility of some of his colleagues and on this head Professor Turnbull quotes an affecting passage from one of his letters:—"I was ashamed to answer, the affairs of the Observatory of St. Andrews were in such a bad condition: the reason of which was, a prejudice the masters of the University did take at the

mathematics, because some of their scholars, finding their courses and dictats opposed by what they had studied in the mathematics, did mock at their masters and deride some of them publicly. After this, the servants of the colleges got orders not to wait on me at my observations: my salary was also kept back from me: and scholars of most eminent rank were violently kept from me, contrary to their own and their parents' wills, the masters persuading them that their brains were not able to endure it. These, and many other discouragements, obliged me to accept a call here to the College of Edinburgh, where my salary is nearly double and my encouragements otherwise much greater."

Especially interesting in Reid's sketch of James Gregory in the "Genealogy" is his account of Gregory's blindness. This is the most circumstantial that I have seen. It is noteworthy that Reid makes no mention of the familiar story that Gregory was struck blind by an attack of Amaurosis while showing Jupiter's satellites to his students. Reid must have often heard from his mother of her uncle's tragic death and it is unlikely that, if she had mentioned this intolerable circumstance, he would have omitted to include it.

Among Gregory's major scientific and mathematical triumphs is to be included his pointing out, for the first time, the utility of the transits of the inferior planets in furnishing an accurate method of determining the value of the solar parallax. He also drew a distinction, again for the first time, between convergent and divergent series and was the first to give a systematic geometrical account of the differential and integral calculus, exhibiting these as converse processes. This last, of course, sets him on a level with the greatest of the mathematically great, with Barrow, with Leibnitz and with Newton. The largeness of mind, already alluded to, that he exhibited regarding his great discovery constitutes a bond of similarity between Barrow and himself, as does also the quaint eulogy of Collins upon the work of the two "so exceeding generall and performing all such difficulties that other methods relinquish that it seems like Moses serpent that devoured the Serpents of the Egyptian Magi.")

The "Genealogy" goes on to give an account of James Gregory's children.

> "James born the 4th of February, 1674 at St. Andrews was educated at the Schools and Colleges of Aberdeen and Edinburgh

he applyed to the Study of Medicine went to Holland in 1696 was that summer in the Camp of Flanders, the following Winter in Utrecht, next Spring went to Paris, thence to Rheims where he got his Degree, from that to Holland thence over to London where he stayed only two months, from that he was called to Chelmsford in Essex where he practised nine months, then in Novr. 1699 came to Abdn. In Novr. 4th 1702 He was married to Katherine Forbes second Daughter to Sir John Forbes of Monymusk by his Second Marriage with Barbara Dalmahoy Daughter to Dalmahoy of that Ilk. She died of a Consumption the 25 of July, 1715 aged 32 and left two sons, James & David. Dr. James Gregory was again Marryed 23 of June 1719 to Anna Chalmers onely Child to Mr. George Chalmers Principal of the King's College Aberdeen of his marriage with Christian Cambel daughter to Mr. George Cambel Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh. Dr. Gregory was Settled Professor of Physick in the College of Old Aberdeen Anno [1725].* He left two Sons of the last Marriage George and John Gregorys."

(This James Gregory, who may be termed the first of the medical Gregorys, is the man who was, by force of civil exigency, glad to remember the fact that his family was connected with the celebrated Rob Roy MacGregor. This took place in 1715 during the first Jacobite Rebellion when Rob had been sent by the Earl of Mar to Aberdeen to raise, it is said, a part of the clan Gregor which was settled in that country. The whole story is given very entertainingly by Walter Scott in the introduction to "Rob Roy" and since those of us who are sealed of the tribe of Scott are few nowadays and those of us who read his introductions still fewer, it is worth while giving the original of an oft-repeated story.

"While in the city of Aberdeen," says Scott, 'Rob Roy met a relation of a very different class and character from those he was sent to summon to arms. This was Dr. James Gregory, at that time Professor of Medicine in King's College, Aberdeen, and son of the inventor of the reflecting telescope. With such a family it may seem our friend Rob could have had little communion. But civil war is a species of misery which introduces men to strange bed-

*Date supplied from Records of King's College.

fellows. Dr. Gregory thought it a point of prudence to claim kindred, at so critical a period, with a man so formidable and influential. He invited Rob Roy to his house and treated him with so much kindness that he produced in his generous bosom a degree of gratitude which seemed likely to occasion very inconvenient effects.

"The Professor had a son about eight or nine years old, a lively stout boy of his age, with whose appearance our Highland Robin Hood was much taken. On the day before his departure from the house of his learned relative, Rob Roy, who had pondered deeply how he might requite his cousin's kindness, took Dr. Gregory aside and addressed him to purport. 'My dear kinsman, I have been thinking what I could do to show my sense of your hospitality. Now here you have a fine spirited boy of a son whom you are ruining by cramming him with your useless book learning and I am determined by way of manifesting my great good will to you and yours to take him with me and make a man of him.' The learned Professor was utterly overwhelmed when his warlike kinsman announced his kind purpose in language which implied no doubt of its being a proposal which would be, or ought to be, accepted with the utmost gratitude. The task of apology or explanation was of a most delicate description and there might have been considerable danger in suffering Rob to perceive that the promotion with which he threatened his son was, in the father's eyes, the ready road to the gallows. Indeed, every excuse which he could at first think of—such as regret for putting his friend to trouble with a youth who had been educated in the Lowlands and so on—only strengthened the chieftain's inclination to patronize his young kinsman, as he supposed they arose entirely from the modesty of the father. He would for a long time take no apology and even spoke of carrying off the youth by a certain degree of kindly violence whether his father consented or not. At length the perplexed Professor pleaded that his son was very young and in an infirm state of health and not yet able to endure the hardships of a mountain life: but that in another year or two he hoped his health would be firmly established and he would be in a fitting condition to attend on his brave kinsman and follow out the

splendid destinies to which he had opened the way. This agreement being made, the cousins parted—Rob Roy pledging his honour to carry his young relation to the hills with him on his next return to Aberdeenshire and Dr. Gregory doubtless praying in his secret soul that he might never see Rob's Highland face again."

James Gregory, continues Scott, who thus escaped being his kinsman's recruit and in all probability his henchman was afterwards Professor of Medicine in the College and, like most of his family, distinguished by his scientific acquirements. He was rather of an irritable and pertinacious disposition; and his friends were wont to remark when he showed any symptoms of these foibles: "Ah! This comes of not having been educated by Rob Roy."

The following story of a further connection between Rob Roy and the lad's father was communicated to Scott by Mr Alexander Forbes, a relation of Dr. Gregory's, who had it from an old man who was present when the incident described took place:

"At a period considerably subsequent to the year 1715 Rob Roy was walking in the Castle Street of Aberdeen, arm in arm with his host, Dr. James Gregory, when the drums in the barracks suddenly beat to arms and soldiers were seen issuing from the barracks. 'If these lads are turning out,' said Rob, taking leave of his kinsman, 'it is time for me to look after my safety.' So saying he dived down a close and, as John Bunyan says, went upon his way and was seen no more."

This Dr. James Gregory is also of interest to Aberdonians as being the man who trained the course of the Don into its present channel, which it seems anciently to have followed, but which during the 17th century it had deserted to wander over the links and discharge its waters into the ocean at the foot of the Broad Hill, at a place called "Canny Sweet Pots." After several unsuccessful attempts Professor Gregory succeeded in constraining the river to its present course in June 1727. This he did by cutting a deep new channel—the work was done by soldiers and salmon fishers—and by means of a strong bulwark which they at the same time raised across the old channel, he forced the river to desert its former course and to run in straight direction from the Bridge of Don into what was then called the German Ocean.)

The "Genealogy" continues. "His eldest son Dr. James Gregory succeeded his Father as Professor of Medicine in Old Aberdeen and married to Helen Burnet youngest daughter to Andrew Burnet of Elrick. His second son David was Stapple Factor in Campveer and married Sophia Wyndgrove Relect of George Gregory. David died and left one young daughter Helen born the 5th December 1670 was married Apr. 1690 to Mr. Alexr. Thomson of Portlethen Town Clerk of Aberdeen. She dyed of the Stone 7th Septr. 1711 and left 7 children James Robert who succeeded his father as Town Clerk, Elizabeth who was married to James Gellie Merchant in Aberdeen, Helen Married to George Skene of Robslaw, Katherine who died unmarried, Mary married to James Carnegie Litster in Abdn. & Isobel who died unmarried.

"His other daughter Jannet was married to William Forbes Son to the Laird of Waterton he was first Apothecary in Aberdeen then became a Minister first in the Parish of Lesly and then of Tarves where they both died and left children, James Doctor of Medicine at Aberdeen."

(At the time when Reid wrote this account, Gregory's sons by his second marriage, George and John, had not yet made a figure in the world and hence Reid could add nothing concerning their careers. Of George Gregory I have discovered nothing. John, however, became quite distinguished. In 1755 he succeeded his brother James, deceased, as Professor of Medicine at King's College, Aberdeen, just as James had succeeded their father. In 1776 Dr. John removed to Edinburgh where he became Professor of the Practice of Medicine in Edinburgh University and First Physician to His Majesty for Scotland. He had a high reputation as a teacher and is honourably distinguished in the records of Edinburgh as being one of the men to whose exertions Edinburgh owes its Royal Infirmary. He was also the author of several amiable works of a philosophical cast which posterity has justifiably forgotten. One of these "A Father's Legacy to his Daughter" was intended to be educational: according to Professor M'Cosh it had a considerable vogue. But M'Cosh thinks that Gregory's wisdom was often somewhat worldly and he exhibits the following gem by way of illustration of this: "Be ever cautious in displaying your good sense.

It will be thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company. But if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding.")

The "Genealogy of the Gregorys" now goes on to give some account of the descendants of James Gregory's elder brother, the Laird of Kinairdy.

> "David Gregory of Kinardy his eldest son David was Professor of Mathematicks in Edr. Coll. 1683 then he was made Professor of Astronomy at Oxford and had his degrees of Doctor of Medicine, the same year he married Elizabeth Oliphant Daughter to Oliphant of Langton, he died at Maidenhead on his return from Bath Octr. 1708. He left four sons David, Charles, James and Isaac."

(David Gregory was elected Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh in October, 1683, a month before he graduated M.A. It is said that his attention was directed to mathematics by the possession of his illustrious uncle's papers, but this tradition hardly squares with what I have said of Kinairdy's teaching him. He was an intimate friend of Sir Isaac Newton by whose influence and that of Flamsteed he was appointed Savilian Professor of Astronomy in 1691. He has, with his brother James, the distinction of being the first professor in Britain to teach the Newtonian physics: this he did at Edinburgh and James at St. Andrews while other Universities clung to the Cartesian system. "Inferior to his uncle in inventive genius," says Sir William Hamilton, "he was one of the most illustrious geometers and geometrical authors of his time." It may be added that of his sons mentioned by Reid, David became Canon and Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the same University.)

> "His brother James succeeded David as Professor of Mathematicks at Edr. and was married to Barbara Oliphant another Daughter of Langtons anno 1698. She died anno 1714 leaving 3 sons and 5 daughters."

(Previous to his election as Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh, James Gregory was Professor of Philosophy at St. Andrews where, like his brother, he taught the Newtonian physics. Reid in another place claims priority for James Gregory but the brothers probably worked together. He gave up his post at St. Andrews after the Glorious Revolution and Reid asked him, long afterwards, why he did so. He got the following choice answer: "Faith nephew," said he, "I never minded politics much: but my dearest companions in the college were going out and I did not like those that were to keep their places and I thought it better to go out in good company, than to stay behind with ill." James succeeded his brother, as has been said, at Edinburgh and retired in favour of the celebrated Colin Maclaurin in 1725.)

> "Their eldest sister Isabel was married Anno 1681 to Peter Innes of Balnaboth afterwards of Tilliefour. He died anno 1697 leaving her with 7 sons & one daughter John, David, Alexr., Will, James, Charles, Peter, and Mary.*
>
> "Their second sister Christian was married to John Cuthbert writer in Edinburgh afterwards of Rosehall. She died Jan. 12, 1739, leaving one son David and a Daughter Elizabeth."

(Reid in one of his letters gives a curious piece of information about this David Cuthbert, the son of Christian. According to Reid David Cuthbert saved millions to the nation in the War of the Austrian Succession by controlling the accounts of the commissaries in Germany.)

> "Their brother by the second Marriage Charles was Settled Professor of Mathematicks at St. Andrews Anno 1707. He demitted 1739 in favour of his son David.†
>
> "Their brother George was Stapple Factor at Campveer & married Sophia Wyndgrove of English parents. He died and left with his wife two Sons David and John. David succeeded his father in Law as Stapple Factor Anno 1739."

*The tradition of the family was maintained here in Alexander Innes son of John mentioned above who became, Anno 1739, Professor of Philsophy in Marischal College.

†Who held the Chair till 1763 and whose death was commemorated by Robert Fergusson in a whimsical elegy.

(The mathematical ability of the family seems also to have worked in the brains of "Stapple Factor" George but in his case his efforts at mathematical renown were nipped in the bud. According to Reid George Gregory fell to the study of mathematics in Holland and wrote to his brother Charles, the St. Andrews Professor, an account of his discoveries. "But," says Reid, "Charles bid him mind his mercantile affairs; for these things had been discovered by authors he was unacquainted with." What George said to this is unfortunately not known.)

> "Their eldest Sister of the Second Marriage Margaret was married to Mr Lewes Reid, Minister of the Gospel at Strachan she died Anno 1732 and left two Sons and two daughters David, Thomas, Isobel & Jean."

(The Thomas referred to here is, of course, the writer of the "Genealogy" himself, after his grand uncle, James, the most distinguished and best known of the family. He graduated at Marischal College in 1727 and in 1751 became a Regent at King's, demitting office in October, 1764, when he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow in succession to Adam Smith. He retired from active teaching in 1780 and died in 1796. His celebrated publications "Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense" (1764), "Essays on the Intellectual Powers" (1785) and "Essays on the Active Powers" (1788) are lasting contributions to the topics of which they treat and influenced philosophical speculation in France, Britain and America for over half a century after death. Some of us indeed think Reid's answer to Hume as good as Kant's and turn with relief from the unintelligible and intolerable jargon of the German philosopher to the unlaboured directness of the Scottish Philsophy of Common Sense. Like Dr Thomas Chalmers we prefer, in Professor Laird's phrase, *Kale* to *Sauerkraut.*)

> "Their Second Sister Jean was Married to James Deans Merchant in Abdn. He died without Issue.
>
> "The Youngest Sister Anna was married to James Bartlet Merchant in Aberdeen. He died leaving her with three Sons and two Daughters George, David, James, Isobel and Jean. James and Jean died Young."

(At this point the "Genealogy" ceases and by way of rounding off my account of this amazing family something may be added concerning those of its members who attained to eminence at a period later than that at which Reid wrote. Each of these, with one exception, was distinguished in medicine. The first of these, James Gregory (of Gregory's Mixture fame) was the son of that Dr. John Gregory who removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. Like his father, he was a medical professor at Edinburgh University where he held successively the chairs of the Institutes of Medicine (1776-89) and of the Practice of Medicine (1790-1821), becoming (again like his father whose old post he now held) First Physician to the King in Scotland in 1799. A crisp literary picture of him is given in Stevenson's unfinished novel, "Weir of Hermiston." It need not be added that the "Mixture," by which he is best known, was for long the "lapis offensionis et petra scandali" of Scottish households.

His son, William, continued the medical traditions of his name. He became Professor of Medicine at Kings in 1839 and five years later removed to Edinburgh to become Professor of Chemistry. I have seen it said that he was considered one of the most distinguished chemists of his time and that he did much to popularise the theories of the celebrated Liebig, of whom he was a favourite pupil. He died in 1858.

The last stage in this professional progress is reached in William Pulteney Alison (1790-1859), Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Edinburgh (1820-1821), then Professor of the Institutes of Medicine there (1821-1842) and finally (in the family tradition) Professor of the Practice of Medicine (1842-1855). His mother, Dorothea, wife of the Rev. Archibald Alison, author of a once well known and really very good work, "Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste," was a sister of "Mixture" Gregory and was the lady to whom "A Father's Legacy," already noted, was addressed. It is to be presumed that she benefited from the wisdom contained in that curious work but at least this much is certain: that with her sons William and Sir Archibald (author of the well known "History of Europe") the Gregory abilities disappeared underground and that the unbroken academic tradition of one hundred and eighty six years, unparallelled in the history of any British family, was made complete.)

THE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE FAMILY OF GREGORY.

DAVID ANDERSON of Finzauch m. Jane Guild
('Davie do a'thing')

JOHN GREGORY, 1598-1652, m. Janet Anderson
M.A., Mar. Coll., 1616:
Minister of Drumoak.

- ALEXANDER
  (murdered 1664).
- DAVID, Laird of Kinairdy
  (1625 ?-1720 ?)
  - DAVID, 1659-1708;
    Mar. Coll., 1671;
    M.A., Edinb., 1683;
    M.A., M.D., Oxon., 1692;
    F.R.S., 1692;
    Prof. Maths., Edinb.,
    1683-91;
    of Astrom., Oxon.,
    1691-1708.
    - DAVID, 1696-1767;
      M.A., Oxon., 1721;
      D.D., 1732;
      Regius Prof. Modern
      Hist., Oxon., 1723-36.
  - JAMES, 1666-1742;
    Mar. Coll., 1681;
    M.A., Edinb., 1685;
    Prof. Maths., St. And.,
    1688-91;
    Edinb., 1692-1725.
  - CHARLES, 1681-1754;
    Mar. Coll., 1696;
    M.A., Oxon., 1704;
    Prof. Maths., St. And.,
    1707-39.
    - DAVID, 1712-65;
      Prof. Maths., St. And.,
      1739-63.
  - Isabel
    = Patrick Innes.
    - John
      - ALEXANDER INNES,
        1716-42;
        M.A., Mar. Coll., 1732;
        Prof. Phil., Mar. Coll.,
        1739-42.
  - Margaret
    = Lewis Reid;
    M.A., Mar. Coll., 1697;
    Min. of Strachan.
    - THOMAS REID,
      1710-96;
      M.A., Mar. Coll., 1726;
      D.D., 1762;
      Librarian, 1733-37;
      Regent, King's, 1751-64;
      Prof. Moral Phil.,
      Glasg., 1764-96;
      Author of the Genealogy.
- JAMES, 1638-75
  The great Gregory—Joint Discoverer of the Calculus)
  M.A., Mar. Coll., 1657; F.R.S., 1668;
  Prof. Maths., St. And., 1668-74;
  Prof. Maths., Edinb., 1674-75.
  - JAMES, 1674-1733;
    Mar. Coll., 1688; M.D., Rheims, 1698;
    Prof. Med., King's, 1725-32.
    - JAMES, 1707-55;
      Mar. Coll., 1721;
      M.D., King's, 1728;
      Prof. Med., King's,
      1732-55.
    - JOHN, 1724-73;
      King's Coll., 1736;
      M.D., 1746; F.R.S., 1756;
      Prof. Phil., 1746-49;
      Prof. Med., 1756-66;
      Pract. Med., Edinb., 1766-73.
      - JAMES, 1753-1821;
        King's Coll., 1764;
        M.D., Edinb., 1774;
        Prof. Inst Med., Edinb.,
        1776-89;
        Pract. Med., 1790-1821;
        Inventor of
        'Gregory's Mixture'.
        - WILLIAM, 1803-58;
          M.D., Edinb., 1828;
          Prof. Med., King's,
          1839-44;
          Chem., Edinb., 1844-58.
      - Dorothea
        = Rev. Archibald Alison.
        - WILLIAM PULTENEY
          ALISON, 1790-1859;
          M.D., Edinb., 1811;
          Prof. Med. Jur., 1820-21;
          Inst. Med., 1821-42;
          Pract. Med., 1842-55.
        - SIR ARCHIBALD
          ALISON, 1792-1867.
          Author of the
          "History of Europe".

PAPER ON "LOCAL GOVERNMENT" BY MR JAMES CRUICKSHANK, STONEYWOOD.

The question which we are asked to consider and if possible to answer is what place does our present system of Local Government hold in relation to any well-planned scheme of national efficiency?

To the average citizen this question presents perhaps too little attraction for to his mind it is largely associated with inconvenient things like rates and taxes, rules and regulations. It may be that about election time he lazily bestirs himself if appealed to for his vote but generally his attitude where it does not extend to actual criticism is one of mild toleration and rarely does his interest express itself in commendation. Yet some form of Local Government must of necessity enter into the daily life of this and probably all other countries and no doubt this has applied from earliest times and will probably continue to the end of the chapter. It might give greater interest to the subject if it were found expedient to trace its evolution from earliest references down to the present day but a few sentences must suffice for this aspect of the case. In our own country we have still many traces of moot-hills and their successors the tolbooths where not only justice was dispensed but laws for the government of the area were passed at the local head court of councillors.

In course of time records began to be made and from these we are able to gather that county administration was centred in the freeholders —in other words the landed proprietors. Their duties would probably be light since most of the public services which call for attention to-day were then unknown, and no doubt the chief item of business was the quota of Finance required as a contribution to the national exchequer, as also the levy of soldiers for the many wars that swept over Scotland.

It may interest the student of local history to learn something of the collection of records which has come down in Aberdeenshire and perhaps lead some lover of research to explore the valuable data contained therein for which reason a list of some of the papers prior to 1800 is hereto attached. The list will serve also to show the nature of the responsibilities which then developed on local government and how these responsibilities have altered in complexion to-day.

As county administration settled down and grew in importance two main channels of activity developed, the Commissioners of Supply and the Road Board. In view of the controversies of a later date between the wisdom of county as against parochial control it is interesting to notice that the earliest form of local government in civil affairs was on a county basis. The emphasis of the parish lay in the ecclesiastical sphere and when divisions began to upset the unity of the church it was then that various functions of a public kind that had been done by the Church, mostly on a voluntary footing, had to pass over to new independent civil bodies. Earliest of these was the Parochial Boards for the relief of necessity, which in time gave place to Parish Councils, and there was also the School Board for the oversight of elementary education. Now that these parish institutions are no more, it would serve little purpose to dwell on the opposing views on County versus Parish which are even now sometimes debated. On the one side it is argued that much loss was sustained by the removal of a large body of local specialists whose life-long knowledge of parish needs was invaluable: on the other there is the claim that there was great inequality in the treatment of affairs between one parish and its neighbour, the lack of co-ordination where joint schemes would have been mutually helpful and the tendency to exercise petty tyrannies towards men in public posts. Suffice it to say that Parliament in its wisdom having been led not so much by any maturity of view expressed by the general public but guided by departmental and official sources came to the deliberate opinion that the County and not the Parish was the true basis of local government; and while there was a promise of review after some years, so little has a claim been raised to have this carried into effect that the promise has passed into oblivion. But this does not dismiss consideration of the merits of the present system from the bar of public opinion and it cannot yet be claimed that the last word has been said in its favour.

What then would be the arguments of any Advocate employed to defend the case for maintaining the status quo? He would be able to plead that there is greater equality of treatment between respective parishes and districts in which there is now one measure of treatment compared to the time when each set up its own immature standard. He would show that this has been attained not by striking an average

between the good and the bad but by a general uprise beyond even the highest levels of the former period. In trying to find a balance between the present and the past it is well to avoid the jeering tone that is often indulged in at the expense of the former parochial bodies. The upheavals of war and unemployment and other handicaps have led to constant change of outlook and there has been little opportunity or inclination to assess the immediate past. But if for a moment we try to make an assessment, it would be found that when School Boards had to take over a system that had outlived its day and generation (not but what the Church and Heritors did good work of a kind) they manfully set themselves to a steady programme of school and schoolhouse building and in the course of little more than 40 years they left an impress that is still used as the foundation of the new order of things. Similarly the Parochial Boards and Parish Councils did much to raise the outlook for the lowest strata in the community and again it is on this foundation that the activities of to-day are carried on. But to return to our question which continues to persist and asks for an answer, what are the advantages claimed for the present régime and does it fulfil the promises held out in respect of it? To find this answer it is desirable to pass in review some of the public services which are being carried on from day to day amongst us and which are more and more coming to be revealed in their true meaning.

Education still appears to hold the chief place in the affections of the people and fittingly calls for first consideration. The passing away of the last of the "Old Parochials" tends to quieten the argument of those who press for continuing the direct link between the parish school and the University and who plead that as things have been so they should remain. It would be quite out of the question for any headmaster to-day, no matter how gifted he is to do justice to his ordinary pupils and find time to prepare a lad of parts, for the range of subjects and the necessary depth of training have long since passed the stage of fifty years ago. Specialist teachers in individual subjects have become the order of the day, equipment of schools for secondary education has to reach a very high level and centralisation in one form or another is not only imperative but is a healthy influence on youth. The Act further secures that no pupil of ability shall be debarred from higher education on a question of means not but what the struggle to attain

the University in that fine period of our history did bring out qualities that are apt to be latent to-day.

Let us take Roads as the next subject for consideration and again we find that unity of control and a wide basis of activity has enabled a striking advance to be made. The parish as a unit in road-making has long been ruled out and even District Committees were handicapped by local jealousies and by inequality of work as between one District and another. Under County control it has been possible to centralise on a few quarries intensively worked and of durable stone, while plant has been secured on a large scale that admits of big works of improvement which otherwise could not have been attempted.

Public Health is another department where there has been a great forward movement under present day rule and where the outlook is constantly widening. Amongst the activities under this head it might be permissible to single out Housing for pride of place. The campaign against insanitary or overcrowded dwellings has been ceaseless and although much remains to be done the problems have been located and the black spots are disappearing. The new homes erected under County auspices are rapidly changing the face of the countryside and doing more for the benefit of health than anything hitherto attempted. Certainly very valuable backing has been given in the many new schemes for water supplies, drainage and scavenging which are now or about to be universal in all but the smallest hamlets, while playing-fields are spreading health-giving facilities in all directions. Treatment in special hospitals has resulted in a big drop of former epidemics, clinics for curing defective eyesight or teeth are in most big centres, mental and physical deficiency are suitably provided for, district nursing is warmly supported and the new Maternity Act has just come into operation.

Enough has been said to show the earnest way in which the main problems of to-day are being tackled and a mere glance can only be taken at some other features. When the Police Force was taken over by County Councils grave doubts were felt about placing this body under popular control but experience has shown that crime has largely diminished and that the force has now most of its energies devoted to civil work.

Public Assistance has always had an honourable place amongst us and the tradition is being carefully observed. Animal diseases that were the bane of the farming community are now well controlled and this is due in large part to official supervision and better housing.

The new fire-fighting responsibilities, the care of boat-havens, the supervision of churchyards are subjects that are all receiving attention which were largely left to chance in the past.

It would be unfair to omit in all this story of advance, a reference to the part played by the various departments of Government in exercising a guiding hand. Sometimes official interference is apt to be resented but when we consider that Government provides perhaps three-fourths of the funds for public works and administration it is natural that it should wish to see a profitable result for its outlay. Without this supervision there would be much inequality between one part of the country and another and there would be much misdirection of effort.

From what has been said it is hoped that a favourable case has been made out for Local Government as it exists to-day and if that is so are we to remain satisfied with it and to jog on from year to year as we are? Experience teaches us that things never remain static and that we need to be prepared to meet widening horizons. While there is little likelihood of a return to a multiplicity of small units like parishes what are the possibilities of still larger units than those now existing? The strain of rising rates is telling on the smaller counties and it seems inevitable that some readjustment of counties will become necessary, in other words the elimination of the smaller counties. Again there are certain functions such as Licensing and State Insurance which for the time being have been continued under composite bodies or with the Inland Revenue all of which functions properly belong to a popularly elected body and these no doubt will, as was originally contemplated be transferred.

District Councils which were intended to be a useful local supplement to the larger county body can hardly be said to have come to their real level for with their power of rating up to one shilling they could do much more to serve a useful local purpose, except that this rate might with better results be made a parish instead of a district levy. The question naturally arises whether amid all these activities the burden

on the ratepayer has got out of hand. In some cases the rates certainly have gone up but it may be a surprise to aver that under parish control the burden on average was just as costly as it is to-day with less result to show. It is this bogey of the rates that is one of the drawbacks of our public life for too much stress is laid on the question of a few pence more or less when the annual notices come to the hands of the ratepayer. In other forms of domestic economy little is thought of the normal expenditure for carrying on the home and surely the provision of so many services as are available to the community to-day is just as well worth paying for as the amusements and fashions which call for so large a proportion of each one's income.

While on this subject one debatable point is that of Derating with which many are in disagreement and the question is still an open one. Certainly as applied to farming it is no new one for hear what was said of it so long since as 240 A.D., seventeen centuries ago, by the great Artaxerxes of Persia—

> "The authority of the State must be defended by military "force, that force can only be maintained by taxes; all taxes "must at last fall on agriculture; and agriculture can never "flourish except under the protection of justice and "moderation."

In the foregoing notes emphasis has been laid on the machine of Government but something has to be said of the men who work the machine.

The wider area of County as against Parish has to a large extent limited the choice of Councillors because meetings have to be held by day and men have to be to a large extent leisured.

The deliberate view is hereby stated that no disadvantage has arisen because of these limitations since outstanding men have perforce had to be chosen, those of influence and of high integrity. In any large stated gathering of County Councillors nothing can be more striking than the high level of intelligence and independence shown in discussion and debate, there is a distinct absence of glaring ambition for high posts, leaders drift to position by a process of natural selection and courtesy is the order of the day. Appointments to official position are reflected by the type of Councillors who have to make them and just

as the Councillors are high-minded so are the men in office likely to be of good quality.

To sum up as to the position of Local Government as it exists to-day the words of a warm advocate in its favour are these—Do not let us look overmuch backward or forward. Every age has its normal condition, often that which the age deserves and in any case there is a tide in the affairs of men which allows of no finality. Therefore as long as the present rule suits our day and generation let us give it our hearty support and let us leave to the future to deal with whatever the turns of the wheel of evolution bring about. We may be assured that as we in our time strive to pass on a high standard of Local Government so will our successors have every incentive to maintain and improve upon this standard.

APPENDIX I.

Selection to show nature of documents relating to the County of Aberdeen prior to 1801.

The dates given represent the oldest in each class.

Sheriff Court Records	1503
do. Judicial Enactments ...	1508
do. Proceedings	1548
do. Decrees	1617
do. Register of Diets	1607
Excise and Cess Books	1653
Valued Rent Book	1674
Cess Books	1722
Assessment Rolls	1800
Supply Minute Books	1713
Window Tax Minute Books	1747
Land Tax	1750
Press Act Minutes	1756
Recruiting Act	1757
Internal Defence of County	1794
Voluntary Defence of County	1798
County Militia Muster Roll	1798
Reports on Highways	1760
Turnpike Road Trustees	1795
Subscribers to Turnpike Roads ...	1799
Aberdeen District Roads	1800
Bounties to Seamen	1777
State of Rogue Money	1794
Parochial Register of County—Prior to	1800

APPENDIX II.

TABLE OF SCOTTISH STATUTES FROM 1845 to 1929.

Agricultural Rates, Congested Districts, and Burgh Land Tax Relief (Scotland) Act, 1896, 59 & 60 Vict. c. 37
Allotments (Scotland) Act, 1892, 55 & 56 Vict. c. 54
Ballot Act, 1872, 35 & 36 Vict. c. 33
Bankruptcy, Frauds, and Disabilities (Scotland) Act, 1884, 47 and 48 Vict. c. 16
Burgh Police (Scotland Act, 1892, 55 and 56 Vict. c. 55
Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1903, 3 Edw. 7, c. 33
Burgh Voters Registration (Scotland) Act, 1856, 19 and 20 Vict. c. 58
Burghs Gas Supply (Scotland) Act, 1876, 39 & 40 Vict. c. 49
Burial Grounds (Scotland) Act, 1855, 18 & 19 Vict. c. 68
Children Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7, c. 67
Churches and Chapels Exemption (Scotland) Act, 1874, 37 & 38 Vict. c. 20
Cleansing of Persons Act, 1897, 60 and 61 Vict. c. 31
Coatbridge Burgh Act, 1885, 48 and 49 Vict. c. 41
Combination of Parishes Dissolution (Scotland) Act, 1861.
(See Poor Law (Scotland) No. 1 Act, 1861.)
Companies Acts, 1862-1890, 25 & 26 Vict., c. 89, &c.
Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886, 49 & 50 Vict. c. 29
Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, 35 & 36 Vict. c. 62
Education (Scotland) Act, 1878, 41 & 42 Vict. c. 78
Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7, c. 63
Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892, 55 & 56 Vict. c 51
Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1882, 45 & 46 Vict. c. 59
Elections (Scotland) (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1890, 53 & 54 Vict. c. 55
Elections (Hours of Poll) Act, 1884, 47 & 48 Vict. c. 34
Electric Lighting Act, 1882, 45 & 46 Vict. c. 56
Ex-officio Justices of the Peace (Scotland) Act, 1898, 61 & 62 Vict. c. 20
Gas and Waterworks Facilities Act, 1870, 33 & 34 Vict. c. 70
Gas and Waterworks Facilities Act, 1870, Amendment Act, 1873, 36 & 37 Vict. c. 89
Gasworks Clauses Act, 1847, 10 & 11 Vict. c. 15
Gasworks Clauses Act, 1871, 34 & 36 Vict. c. 41
Glasgow Barony Parochial Board Act, 1862, 25 & 26 Vict. c. 157
Glasgow Corporation (General Powers) Act, 1896, 59 & 60 Vict. c. 199
Housing, Town Planning, &c., Act, 1909, 9 Edw. 7, c. 44
Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, 53 & 54 Vict. c. 70
Interpretation Act, 1889, 52 & 53 Vict. c. 63
Lands Clauses Consolidation (Scotland) Act, 1845, 8 & 9 Vict. c. 19
Lands Clauses Consolidation Acts, Amendment Act, 1860, 23 & 24 Vict. c. 106

Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1903, 3 Edw. 7, c. 25
Local Authorities (Admission of the Press to Meetings) Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7, c. 43,
Local Authorities Loans (Scotland) Act, 1891, 54 & 55 Vict. c. 34
Local Government Act, 1888, 51 & 52 Vict. c. 41
Local Government Act, 1894, 56 and 57 Vict. c. 73
Local Government Board Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vict. c. 70
Local Government Board (Ireland) Act, 1872, 35 & 36 Vict. c. 69
Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889, 52 & 53 Vict. c. 50
Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894, Amendment Act, 1895, 58 Vict. c. 1
Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1908, 52 & 53 Vict. c. 50
Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929.
Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1898, 61 & 62 Vict. c. 56
Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, 53 & 54 Vict. c. 60
Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) Act, 1881, 44 & 45 Vict. c. 6
Medical Act, 1886, 49 & 50 Vict. c. 48
Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1868, 31 & 32 Vict. c. 108
Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881, 44 & 45 Vict. c. 13
Municipal Elections (Scotland) Act, 1897, 60 & 61 Vict. c. 34
Old Age Pensions Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7, c. 40
Old Age Pensions Regulations, 1911
Orkney and Zetland Small Piers and Harbours Act, 1896, 59 & 60 Vict. c. 32
Parish Councils Casual Vacancies (Scotland) Act, 1897, 60 & 61 Vict. c. 49
Police (Scotland) Act, 1857, 20 & 21 Vict. c. 72
Polling Districts (County Councils) Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7, c. 13
Poor Law (Scotland) Act, 1845, 8 & 9 Vict. c. 83
Poor Law (Scotland) (No. 1) Act, 1861, 24 & 25 Vict. c. 18
Poor Law (Scotland) (No. 2) Act, 1861, 24 & 25 Vict. c. 37
Post Office Act, 1908, 8 Edw. 7, c. 48
Public Bodies Corrupt Practices Act, 1889, 52 & 53 Vict. c. 69
Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, 30 & 31 Vict. c. 101
Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897, 60 & 61, Vict. c. 38
Public Libraries Consolidation (Scotland) Act 1887, 50 & 51 Vict. c. 42,
Public Libraries (Scotland) Act, 1899, 62 Vict. c. 5
Qualification of Women (County and Town Councils) (Scotland) Act, 1907, 7 Edw. 7, c. 48
Railway Clauses (Scotland) Act, 1845
Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages (Scotland) Act, 1860, 23 & 24 Vict. c. 85
Representation of the People Act, 1884, 48 & 49 Vict. c. 3
Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, 31 & 32 Vict. c. 48
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Vaccination (Scotland) Act, 1863, 26 & 27 Vict. c. 108
Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Act, 1854, 17 & 18 Vict. c. 91
Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1867, 30 & 31 Vict. c. 80
Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1887, 50 & 51 Vict. c. 51
Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1894, 57 & 58 Vict. c. 36
Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works Act, 1891, 54 & 55 Vict. c. 58

PAPER ON "THE BURGH OF PETERHEAD," BY MR ALEXANDER DAVIDSON.

Peterhead was erected into a Burgh of Barony in 1587. This bald statement might lead the uninitiated to assume that Peterhead then became a self-governing community such as it is at the present day. This was far from being the case. For more than 200 years thereafter the administration of civic affairs was really dominated by the Superiors of the Town and as a prelude to the story of the civic development of Peterhead some knowledge of these Superiors is essential.

For long before the Reformation the Lands of Peterhead belonged to the Abbey of Deer. In 1543 Robert Keith, brother of William fourth Earl Marischal, became Abbot of Deer, and on his death in 1551 was succeeded by his nephew Robert, then a boy of fifteen. Being in reality a layman, the last named Robert was styled Abbot in commendam and is thus known in history as the Commendator of Deer. It would appear that the Commendator had more consideration for his own welfare than for the interest of the Church for when the storm of the Reformation swept over Scotland he prudently as his final Act as Commendator executed "A Procuratorie of Resignation of the Lands of Deer" in favour of the Crown, whereafter the King (James VI.) by a Charter dated 29th July, 1587, conveyed the lands to the erstwhile Commendator and to his nephew George, fourth Earl Marischal jointly under the title of the Lordship of Altrie. Lord Altrie died in 1590 and the lands passed to his nephew solely.

Thus began Peterhead's connection with the family of Keith which continued until 1716 when for the part he took in the "Fifteen" the then Earl Marischal was exiled and his lands forfeited to the Crown.

The forfeited lands of Peterhead were put up for sale and in 1720 were purchased by the York Buildings Company. This Company was originally formed for the purpose of supplying the City of London with water from the Thames. The Company collapsed in 1726 and another purchaser was not found until 1728 when the Lands were acquired by the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital of Edinburgh and with that body the lands remain to this day:—although, owing to the consolidation of various educational endowments in which the Merchant

Company of Edinburgh is interested, the Superiors are now known as the Merchant Company Education Board.

After this brief outline of the Superiors who have from time to time exercised an influence, beneficial or otherwise, on the fortunes of the town it is necessary to return to the opening words of the Chapter "Peterhead was erected into a Burgh of Barony in 1587." This erection was co-incident with the bestowal of the Lands of the Abbey of Deer on Lord Altrie and his nephew by the King. The portion of the Lands which concern the subject under review were described in the Charter of 29th July, 1587, as the "fisher toun of Peterhead with ports "anchorages and fishings of the same, the lands of Caickinche . . . . ". Caickinche is the portion of the Burgh now known as "Keith Inch."

The following clause of the Charter is of special interest:—

> And because the lands of Kethinche otherwise called Caikinche lying in the aforesaid parish of Peterugie within our sheriffdom of Aberdeen at the sea shore are sufficiently suitable and convenient for a harbour which may prove a great benefit to the whole country around we have given granted and disponed as by the tenor of this our present charter we do give grant and dispone to the foresaid Robert lately Commendator of Deir for his life and to our said cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees in fee and heritage the privilege and liberty of erecting a harbour where the sea was in the said lands of Caikinche where it may most conveniently be made with the haven silver small customs anchorages and other duties and casualties belonging to any free port within our kingdom And also because for the reception of boats ships and strangers frequenting the said port it is necessary to have houses and taverns for entertaining and lodging those frequenting there it shall be lawful to the foresaid persons and their successors to build a town upon the foresaid lands of Caikinche which town so to be built we now as then and then as now have erected and by the tenor of this our present charter do erect into a free burgh of barony and we give and grant to the same all liberties and privileges whatsoever which can belong to a burgh of barony and with power to the said Robert lately Commendator during his life only and to our forsaid cousin George Earl Marischal and his heirs male and assignees of creating appointing and dismissing bailies harbour masters and officers necessary for the keeping of good government and order as often as shall seem to them expedient.

On the death of Lord Altrie, as already recorded, the Lands of Peterhead passed to the sole possession of George fourth Earl Marischal —the founder of Marischal College—a man of great force and ability. In 1593—six years after the erection of Peterhead into a Burgh of

Barony—a Feu Contract was entered into between the Earl and the feuars of the town. It is a document of deep interest to students of the history of Peterhead but only a brief outline can be given here. After reciting the names of the burgesses—fourteen in number, one of whom was a women—the deed proceeds (the language being to a certain extent modernized) :—

> For as meikle as the burgh of baronage pertaining to the Earl heritablie called Keith Inche, alias Peterheid, lately erected by his Majesty's doittit and franchised with privilege of burgh, as the right and erection thereof purports, cannot be sufficiently peopled and furnished with citizens and brought to the state and measure of one honest burgh, for decoratioun of the realm, weal of navigation and profit of the said Earl and his foresaids, except that the tenements at lease and yards thereof be set in feu either to the present inhabitants of the same or other virtuous and skillful trafficers that will resort to the said town. It is therefore specially accorded and agreed between the said parties that the said Earl shall.....by feu charter.....vest, sease and infeft ilk ane of the persons and their foresaids in the tenements and yards designed to them respectively.

Various privileges were conferred on the feuars and in particular they received the privilege of engaging in commerce to the exclusion of such as were not feuars.

The contract further provides for the municipal government of the Burgh, but the Earl was careful to reserve the essence of power in his own hands—for the contract provides

> For guiding and ruling of the which Burgh, the said Earl and his foresaids shall elect, nominate and choose, baillies, clerks, and other officers necessary and meet for the government of the same of the neighbours and feuars of the said burgh, actual indwellers for the time within the same; the said Earl always and his foresaids remaining Provost or old Baillie thereof.

This reservation is understandable when reference to the testing clause of the deed "shows that the worthy burgesses signed the docu-"ment with our handis at the pen, led be the Connotares underwritten, "at our commandis, because we could not wryt our selffis."

The contract remained in force until 17th April, 1775, when it was superseded by a new contract entered into between the then Superiors the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital and the feuars of the day. The feuars acknowledge the lands "called the Ronheads and

yards thereof, Harbours, Keys, Anchorage, Shoredues and petty customs" as part of the Governors Estate while the Governors agree that "the rents and profits of these subjects shall be received and applied by "the feuars of the said town for the time being or the majority of them "for enlarging building, repairing and upholding the harbours, piers, "shores and other public works within the town in time coming" under the inspection and control of the Governors. To the feuars were allotted the Rae Moss Park (now occupied by the Recreation Park, School Playing Fields, Children's Playground and Public Pleasure Grounds), the North enclosure called "the Buchanhaven Park," the middle enclosure lying between the Geddle and the Ive, the south enclosure lying between the Ive and the Ronheads Park the Geddle Braes, the lands of the washing green, the School, the Tolbooth and Tolbooth Green, the Warehouse, Flesh Market and Slaughter House. It was further agreed that a portion of the Raehill and the Little Links (South of the Boddam Road) together with the "West Links" "lying by West the Kirkburn" should remain a commonty in all time coming.

Early in the nineteenth century it was found that the powers possessed by Feuars were insufficient to provide for the needs of a rapidly growing community and in 1820 an Act of Parliament was passed for "supplying the Town of Peterhead with water and for the "better lighting, paving and otherwise improving the streets, roads and "avenues within and leading to and from the said Town." This Act was administered by a body of Commissioners until the passing of the Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862.

Another change in local administration took place in 1827 when the management of the Harbours was transferred to a body called "the Trustees of the Harbours of Peterhead." The Harbours are still administered by this body.

A further adjustment of the relationship between the Superiors and the Feuars took place in 1829 when the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital executed a Deed of Approbation and Grant in favour of the Baron Bailies and Council of the Town of Peterhead. From this Deed it appears that the Earls Marischal as Superiors appointed Bailies who chose their own Clerk and other officers and there does not appear to have been a Committee of Feuars acting as Town Council during that time. After 1752 the persons nominated by the Superiors as bailies and

the persons selected by the Feuars conducted the affairs of the Burgh under the title of "The Bailies and Public Managers" and "the Bailies and Town Council of Peterhead." In the Deed of 1829 the Superiors gave authority to continue the system of management in vogue. Of the Councillors four had to be Merchants, two Shipmasters and two tradesmen. These together with a treasurer were selected by the Feuars.

The terms of this arrangement were very much modified by the passing of the Parliamentary Burghs Act of 1833 under which Peterhead became a Parliamentary Burgh with a popularly elected Town Council.

Owing to the peculiar and indeed almost unique nature of the grants to the Feuars under the contracts of 1593 and 1775 a sharp division of opinion arose between the newly elected Town Council and the body representing the Feuars as to their respective rights and interests. The new Council claimed that the property of the Feuars and the duties hitherto performed by the representatives of the Feuars now came under their control. The representatives of the Feuars maintained that their rights and duties were undisturbed and ultimately the Town Council raised an action in the Court of Session against the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital and the Feuars' Managers. The Second Division of the Court of Session disposed of the case on 20th November, 1840, when the following judgment was given:—

> Edinburgh, 20th November, 1840. The Lords having heard counsel for the parties and advised the cause with their revised cases and having also advised the minute lodged for the Governors of the Merchant Maiden Hospital and their Feuars and whole process in the action of declarator at the instance of the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Peterhead—Sustain the defences for the said Hospital and their feuars and assoilize them from the whole conclusions of the action: And in the counter action of declarator at the instance of the Governors of the said Hospital and their Feuars, Repel the defences for the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Peterhead, and find, discern, and declare in terms of the libel—reserving, of consent, of the Governors of the said Hospital and their Feuars, to the said Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, right to the market customs levied or leviable within the said burgh and also right to the said Provost, Magistrates and Town Council to use, for all municipal purposes, the rooms in the building commonly called the Townhouse, hitherto known and occupied as the Town Hall and Court Room, and also the bell in the spire of the said building called the Town House, but without prejudice to the legal

rights of the said Governors and their Feuars over the said rooms, bell, and building, in all other respects, and decern.

(Signed) D. BOYLE, I.P.D.

Signed 27th November, 1840.

Note. By this judgment the court have found that the whole of the properties conveyed by the contract 1774, and subsequently acquired, stand presently vested in and belong to, the Feuars of the town and lands of Peterhead, present and to come, comprehending all those persons who at present hold heritable subjects in the said town and land in feu-farm under the Governors of the Hospital, and all who may at any time hereafter acquire such feu-rights, and that the same are vested in and belong to no other person or persons whomsoever, and are held subject to all the conditions, provisions and qualifications contained in the contract of 7th and 16th December, 1774; and that the administration and management of these properties also stand vested in the Feuars of Peterhead, present and to come, and in no other person or persons whomsoever, and that the proceeds thereof are to be applied and disposed of in terms of the contract of 1774, for the public good and utility of the Town of Peterhead, as the majority of the Feuars at the time, and from time to time shall think fit, and according to the direction and determination of no other person or persons whomsoever, and this always under the inspection and control of the Governors of the Hospital, or of such other person or persons as they shall appoint from time to time for that purpose, as provided for in the contract of 1774, or as exercised according to use and wont; and, more particularly, that the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Peterhead, and their successors in office, have no right or title to the above-mentioned properties, or any part thereof; or to assume the administration or management of these properties, or of any part thereof, and the said Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, and all other, are prohibited, interdicted, and discharged from molesting and disturbing the Hospital and their Feuars, present and to come, in the peaceable enjoyment and administration of the above-mentioned properties, and disposal of the proceeds thereof in all time coming.

As a result of this decision the Feuars still continue to control their own affairs and are practically the administrators of the Common Good of the Burgh—a state of affairs which exists only in Fraserburgh and probably one other Burgh in Scotland.

Under the judgment it will be seen that the Town Council were accorded the use for all municipal purposes of the rooms in the building called the Town House. The Council exercised this privilege until recent years when it acquired a lease of Arbuthnot House for municipal offices and Council Chamber so that for the stranger, the confusing position exists that while the Town House stands at one end of Broad

Street, the hub of municipal affairs stands at the opposite end of the same street.

From 1833 onwards the civic affairs of Peterhead have been regulated by various Acts of Parliament applicable to all municipalities in Scotland and call for no special comment.

So far nothing has been said of the progress of Peterhead as a community. Considering the limitations under which the town has suffered from its geographical position, its development may well give cause for wonder. There is no reliable record of the population of Peterhead when it became a Burgh in 1593. The figure has been put as low as 56 but probably twice that number would be more correct. The first reliable census in 1764 gives the population as 1266. A hundred years later it was 7541 and it reached its peak in 1901 when the figure was 13,560. The 1931 census showed a population of 12,545 and according to the Registrar-General's Returns the present day population is somewhat over 13,000.

Peterhead has always looked for its livelihood to the sea although for a time it blossomed forth as a spa or fashionable watering place. Its mineral springs were held in great repute and attracted "ladies and "gentlemen of all ranks and titles, senators, judges, philosophers, "military officers, clergy and merchants." As a spa Peterhead reached its greatest popularity at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. The mineral wells of Peterhead have long fallen into neglect and will never again attract visitors to the town, but to-day an increasing number of summer visitors come to Peterhead to benefit from its bracing air and the exceptional facilities for sport and recreation which are available.

The whale fishing which for a time brought prosperity to Peterhead and the herring fishing which has for long been the mainstay of the town are subjects which require chapters for themselves.

The story of the development of Peterhead would be incomplete without some record of the work done by the public bodies responsible for the management of its affairs. Down to the end of last century none of the public boards exhibited any great initiative confining their efforts to works of actual necessity. It is quite probable indeed that any deviation from such a course would have been bitterly resented by

their constituents for it is on record that clamant reforms in the sanitary condition of the town were only effected after violent opposition.

Since the opening of the present century there has been an awakening of the public conscience and great developments have taken place. The year 1899 saw the opening of public baths and swimming pond which have since been greatly extended and improved. Even to-day few communities of the size of Peterhead possess such an institution. For many years a but and ben on the Geddle Braes served as an Infectious Diseases Hospital. In 1906 a fully equipped Hospital was opened and about the same time the water supply and sewerage systems were modernised at great expense. The War for a time suspended progress but the past twenty years have been outstandingly fruitful in improvement. The main efforts of the Town Council have been centred in housing and not only have new suburbs sprung up but old and unsightly buildings have disappeared and handsome new dwellings taken their place. It is no undue boast to say that the housing schemes of Peterhead are of outstanding excellence and earn the admiration of all visitors to the town.

Attraction has been added to the town by the provision of Pleasure Grounds for games, public gardens, the terracing of the fine braes along the South Bay and many other improvements. Finally with an installation of the most up-to-date street lighting Peterhead claims to be the best lighted town in Scotland.

It is but fitting that due tribute should be paid to the municipal fathers who in the face of many difficulties are doing so much to make their town a better, brighter and healthier home for its inhabitants.

PAPER ON MEDIÆVAL BUCHAN: ITS CASTLES & CHURCHES BY DR. W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON.

THE CASTLES OF BUCHAN.

The castle, that characteristic product of the Middle Ages, may be defined as the private stronghold of a feudal lord, erected both to supply him with a fencible homestead, and also to serve as an administrative centre of local government. In Britain the castle was introduced by the Anglo-Norman immigrants in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There was no Norman conquest of Scotland like the military subjugation of England by William the Conqueror. But from the reign of David I (1124-53), the Scottish kings invited Norman barons to settle north of the Tweed, and gave them gifts of land to be held from the crown in feudal tenure. Thus gradually the whole social and political structure of Scotland was recast; and instead of being a loosely-knit, tribal, Celtic kingdom, she became a strongly organised feudal monarchy, administered upon Anglo-Norman methods.

When we think of a Norman castle, we usually picture a square stone keep, like the Tower of London. But even in England these towers were exceptional; and north of Carlisle and Norham, stone castles were unknown during the Norman period. The Scottish castle of the twelfth century was built not of stone and lime, but of earthwork and timber. It consisted of a conical, flat-topped mound or *motte,* surrounded by a ditch, and crested by a palisade, within which was a wooden tower forming the lord's house. Often there was an attached courtyard or bailey, enclosed by a palisaded bank and ditch, and containing the stable, smithy, chapel and other subsidiary buildings.

The earliest remains of castles in Buchan belong to this class of timbered earthwork. They were probably erected in the thirteenth century under the influence of the great Anglo-Norman family of Comyn, who had married themselves into the old Celtic ruling house of Buchan.

The Moot Hill or *motte,* now removed, of Ellon was a structure of this type, and formed the nucleus round which the mediæval burgh grew. It is significant of its connection with the Comyn Earls of Buchan that the *motte* was also known as Earl's Hill. A survival of the old feudal jurisdiction attached to the castle, long after the *motte* itself had fallen into disuse, is shown by the fact that the head courts of the burgh continued to be held here.

Another example of an early earthwork castle is the mound known as the Castlehill of Inverugie. This was the ancient stronghold of the Cheynes, to whom the barony of Inverugie belonged in the thirteenth century. It immediately adjoins the later stone castle of the Keiths.

A third example of an earthwork castle is the Castlehill of Rattray, also believed to be a stronghold of the Comyns.

In England the earthwork castle was becoming obsolete during the reign of Henry II (1154-1189). In Scotland castles of stone do not appear until the thirteenth century. As elsewhere in Western Europe, the new castle took the form of a courtyard enclosed with strong curtain walls and defended usually by flanking towers. During the whole of the thirteenth century, however, the great majority of our Scottish castles continued to be of the older earthwork type. What stone castles exist were for the most part destroyed during the War of Independence so that now their remains are few and far between.

In Buchan we still have a specimen of one of these early stone castles at Dundarg, on a projecting mass of Old Red Sandstone thrust out into the Moray Firth about halfway between Rosehearty and Pennan. This also is said to have been an early fortress of the Comyns. During the Second War of Independence, it was held in the English interest by Henry de Beaumont, who claimed the Earldom of Buchan in right of his wife who was a Comyn. Here on the narrow peninsular site no room existed for flanking towers but the foundation of the great curtain wall with a deep ditch in front still remains. The wall may be the work of Beaumont, who is known to have fortified the castle in 1334. In that year it was besieged and captured by the Regent, Sir Andrew de Moray, and thereafter dismantled. The ruins were excavated in 1912 and yielded a quantity of pottery of the early fourteenth century.

Another important early castle seems to have been Kinnedar, now absurdly misspelt King Edward. It is first mentioned in 1273, at which time it belonged to Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan. The earthwork defences are very well preserved, together with masses of walling which may well go back to that period. In 1509 King James IV granted the site and ruins of the castle to Lord Forbes, together with a licence to build a new castle there; but it does not seem that this was ever done.

After the War of Independence, a complete change came over Scottish military architecture. Bruce's "Testament" advised the destruction not the multiplication of fortresses. For this reason, and owing to the exhaustion of the country, few stone castles seem to have been built during the first half of the fourteenth century, and many of the old timbered earthworks still remained in use. Moreover the stone castles dating from this period belong to an entirely new design. Under straitened circumstances, the baronage abandoned the courtyard type of castle and began to build strongholds on the plan of a square tower-house with an appended barmkin or fortified enclosure. It is from this period onwards that Scotland, thrown back on her own resources by the breach with England, began to develop a national style in castle building.

The War of Independence led to great territorial changes in Buchan. The Comyns disappeared, while their place was taken by supporters of Bruce, such as the Hays, to whom in 1308 King Robert granted the barony of Slains. In the old castle of Slains accordingly we appear to have the earliest example of the new type of tower-house erected in the fourteenth century. The castle stands on a rocky peninsula, 120 feet high, jutting out into the North Sea about four miles south of Port Erroll. There were two lines of defence, an outer and an inner. The inner spanned the narrowest part of the peninsula, and consisted of a ditch, still well preserved, behind which was the barmkin wall and gateway. Of these, little or nothing remains. The outer ward, on the slopes of the mainland, enclosed a well and was defended by earthwork ramparts which may be older than the stone castle. Only the south-east corner of the tower-house remains, for the castle was blown up in 1594 by James VI—its owner, the ninth Earl of Errol, having taken part in the Roman Catholic rising of that year. The

tower was four storeys high with thick walls containing various mural closets and a stairway.

From the War of Independence onwards the Scottish castle, or laird's "house of fence", is essentially a tower house; and the square tower of the fourteenth century is the direct ancestor of most of the different types of castle evolved in succeeding ages. The continuance of the type is well seen in the very fine tower which now carries the Kinnaird Head lighthouse at Fraserburgh. This was erected in 1570 by Sir Alexander Fraser, eighth laird of Philorth, the founder of Fraserburgh. The most interesting feature of this tower is the fine corbelled parapet with its angle turrets. These represent the decorative treatment of features that were originally purely structural or military in purpose. Beside the main tower is a smaller structure known as the Wine Tower, in which is a vaulted hall with richly carved heraldic pendants.

As time went on a desire grew up for better accommodation than was provided by the simple square tower, with its single room on each floor and complete lack of privacy. A favourite way of obtaining extra space was by building the tower with a wing attached to one side like the letter L. This would give at least one extra room on each floor, and often more, as the rooms in the wing, being generally private apartments, did not require to be built so lofty as the halls in the main house. Or the wing might be used for the staircase, whereby a more convenient access was obtained to the different floors of the tower-house, and the danger was avoided of weakening one of its angles by the well of the spiral stair. Another advantage of the L-plan was that it suggested a strong position for the door, which is usually placed in the re-entrant angle, protected by the limbs of the building. Buchan has a very fine example of this new type of building in the castle of Ravenscraig, about three miles inland from Peterhead, upon a rocky crag of granite overhanging the Water of Ugie. Though now very ruinous, this castle is of particular value because it is exactly dated. The lands belonged to the Keiths and on May 9th, 1491, Gilbert Keith and his wife, Jonete Graham, received a charter of confirmation from James IV with licence to build a castle of whatever dimensions they pleased "on the rock commonly called le Ravinis Craig". The castle which Gilbert and Jonete thereafter built themselves is a strong tower-house

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RAVENSCRAIG CASTLE.

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TOLQUHON CASTLE.

on the L-plan with walls no less than 9 feet thick. The door is in the re-entrant angle, and near it is the spiral stair. The first floor retains some remnants of groined vaulting in one of the mural chambers. Another of these chambers formed a chapel, and as late as the last century showed traces of its painted decoration.

Another good example of an L-tower is the castle of Cairnbulg, which was restored in 1896. It dates from the early sixteenth century, and exhibits the later form of ornamental parapet not unlike Kinnaird Head. In this tower-house the wing or limb of the L-plan is given up to the spiral staircase.

Later in the same century a large addition was made to the castle, consisting of a long house attached to one corner of the old tower, while at the diagonally opposite corner of the addition is a bold round tower. By these additions the castle was converted into a very fine example of the characteristic "Z-plan", which is a direct result of the introduction of firearms. This great change, involving the supersession of parapet defence by defence from the ground level through gunloops in flanking towers, led to a process of lateral expansion being applied to the tower-house. Wings were run out *en echelon* so as to sweep the faces of the main house. The Scot has always been famed for his economy; and so it was speedily found that complete flanking defence could be afforded to an oblong house if a round or square tower were added to each of two diagonally opposite corners. The result was the so-called "Z-plan", which was a very popular one throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century. Apart from its defensive value, it is obvious that this plan supplied much extra accommodation, just at a time when, with improved social ideas, this was specially desired. Moreover, the towers being set out diagonally interfered as little as possible with the lighting. In the Z-plan the Scottish tower-house reaches its logical climax of development.

During the sixteenth century, courtyard houses now make themselves apparent; not so much, it would seem, as a result of any external influence as through the gradual process of absorbing the barmkin walls into buildings erected inside them. Of these late courtyard castles Buchan possesses two fine examples in Pitsligo and Inverallochy. At Pitsligo Castle the courtyard mansion was added about 1577 to a strong tower of the early

fifteenth century. Inverallochy, on the other hand, is a very interesting example of a courtyard castle erected apparently all at one period; but unfortunately it has in recent years been allowed to fall very largely to pieces.

The finest of all the castles in Buchan is beyond doubt Fyvie, which is probably the masterpiece of the latest phase in Scottish baronial architecture. There was a royal castle here in the days of Edward I; but no portion of the existing structure seems older than the fourteenth century, and the castle as we have it is largely the creation of Alexander Seton, first Earl of Dunfermline and Chancellor of Scotland, who held Fyvie from 1596 to 1622—a man of high culture and a notable patron of scholarship and the arts. The grand main front, terminated at either end by tall square turreted towers, and having in the centre a noble gatehouse, is one of the finest architectural compositions to be seen in any country. Internally, the chief feature of the castle is the splendid spiral stair, nine feet wide, carried on a series of flying arches.

In a short sketch like the present, there has not been space to touch upon more than a few selected examples, and many highly interesting buildings have perforce been left unmentioned. But enough has been said to give the reader some idea of the immense interest and variety to be found amid the ancient castles of Buchan.

A List of the Chief Castles in Buchan.

Balquholly or Hatton.
Brucklay.
Cairnbulg.
Craigston.
Delgaty.
Dundarg.
Eden.
Ellon.
Fedderate.
Formartine, or Gight.
Fyvie.
Inverallochy.

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INVERUGIE CASTLE.

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King Edward, or Kinnedar.
Kinnaird Head.
Old Slains.
Philorth.
Pitsligo.
Pittulie.
Ravenscraig.
Slains.
Towie Barclay.

THE CHURCHES OF BUCHAN.

Compared with its castles, the churches of Buchan are of minor consequence. The most important of them was the Abbey of Deer, which has attained a world-wide celebrity through the Book of Deer, discussed elsewhere in this volume. Of the Celtic monastery at Deer even the site is uncertain. Dr. John Stewart thought it stood at or near the old parish church—that is, about a mile east of the later Cistercian Abbey, and on the south or opposite side of the River Ugie. All the circumstances seem to point to this view being correct. The site of the parish church is within a bend or crook of the river, a situation again and again found at old Celtic religious centres, for example, at St. Machar's, Aberdeen; at Dyce; and at Machar's Haugh, Kildrummy. It is also on a knoll or mound (Tap Tillery), like the old Celtic church sites at Fetterangus, Kildrummy, Arbuthnott and St. Vigeans. An alternative site has been proposed about a mile to the south—where are still St. Colm's Hillock, St. Colm's Well, and St. Drostan's Well. The only memorial of the Celtic church at Deer that survived almost to our own time was a cross-marked symbol stone, which used to be preserved among the monastic ruins, but has now disappeared. Its original *locus* is unknown. Almost no particulars have survived as to the history of the Celtic monastery, but the vernacular entries in the Book of Deer are evidence that it maintained its identity and enjoyed the munificence of distinguished patrons until as late as the twelfth century.

The Cistercian Abbey at Deer was founded in 1215 by William, the first Comyn Earl of Buchan, and colonised with monks from Kinloss.

Whether the Celtic monastery was suppressed to make way for the Cistercians, or whether it had already decayed, we cannot tell. We are told the names of only three brethren, Hugh, Arthur and John, who were transplanted from Kinloss to Deer. The small number might afford grounds to think that these were added to some Celtic monks surviving from the old foundation, and now, perhaps, compulsorily turned into Cistercians, as their colleagues, the Culdees at Monymusk, about the same time were transformed into Augustinians.

The remains of the Cistercian Abbey have recently been excavated and have disclosed the complete outline of a normal monastic plan, except that the frater or dining hall was not sited north and south, as was more usual in Cistercian houses. The church, which measured 157 feet in length, consisted of nave, choir, presbytery, and transepts; and the foundations of the sacristy, chapter house, kitchen, frater, calefactory or warming house, and abbot's lodging have all been exposed. To the east is a detached building which was probably the farmery or sick-house. Remains of fine carved work of the thirteenth century may still be seen, including the beautiful arches of the sedilia, and a remarkable piscina, which was bungled in the making, and the stone was therefore reversed and a new bowl sunk in the under side. The old parish church at Deer exhibits some good thirteenth century work as well as much decorated detail of the period immediately preceding the Reformation.

Generally speaking, the parish churches of mediæval Buchan were long narrow unicameral buildings exhibiting no external structural distinction between nave and chancel—both compartments being under one continuous roof. Remains of such churches are to be seen at St. Adamnan's, Forvie; St. Drostan's, Aberdour; St. Mary's, Rattray, with its beautiful three-light eastern window; St. Ethernan's, Rathen; and the old church of Gamrie. This last church, dedicated to St. John, shows the extreme length and narrowness of plan sometimes found; it measures 94 feet 4 inches by 15 feet 6 inches.

One solitary fragment of plain Norman work, the chancel arch of St. Peter's Church at Peterhead, exists in Buchan.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, under the influence of the Episcopalian or moderate church party, who were in the ascendant in

the north east of Scotland, there was a kind of Indian summer of ecclesiastical architecture within our area. This has left its traces in a number of beautiful belfries, such as those of St. Congan's Church, Turriff; St. Ethernan's, Rathen; St. Colm's, Belhelvie; and the old church of Pitsligo, a new parish formed in 1630. In the last mentioned church was some exceptionally fine oaken carved work in a mixed Gothic and Renaissance style, which was fortunately saved and transferred to the new church, built alongside the old structure in 1890.

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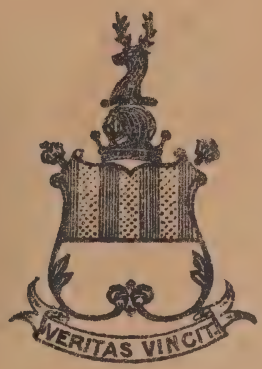

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SIXTEENTH VOLUME

THE Sixteenth Volume of the " Transactions of the Buchan Club " contains contributions to the Transactions from 1939 to 1942.

All the contributions in this volume were originally intended to appear in the Jubilee Volume of the " Book of Buchan." There has been great delay in printing the " Book of Buchan." Owing to war conditions the Editor is unable to state when it can be published. A large number of contributions has been received on various subjects. It has been found impossible to print them all in the volume. The Editor has, therefore, decided that those of a particularly local character should be printed in the Transactions. He feels sure they will prove interesting to members of the Club resident in Buchan. The issue of this volume is intended as a gesture of our gratitude to those who have taken the trouble to write chapters for the Jubilee Volume.

The first contribution in the volume is on " The Family of Gregory," by Mr. W. R. Humphries, who is Principal Teacher of English in Robert Gordon's College, and is well known as the author of several monographs bearing on subjects of interest to North-East folk. Mr. Humphries tells us that by a happy accident he came upon a manuscript in the handwriting of Thomas Reid, the celebrated Scottish Philosopher. He informs us that Reid was the grandson of the Laird of Kinairdy, who was the brother of the accomplished mathematician, James Gregory, the co-discoverer, along with Leibnitz, of the Calculus. In addition to details of the history of the family of Gregory, he provides the reader with a genealogy showing that David Anderson of Finzauch's daughter married the minister of Drumoak, the Rev. John Gregory—the father of the great Gregory. Mr. Humphries clearly establishes the fact that the Gregories were the most distinguished family in the North-East not only with regard to their learning but also with regard to their professional attainments.

The contribution by Mr. James Cruickshank is of great value to those interested in Local Government. He shows the marked advance which has been made in Education, Public Health and County Council duties and procedure during the past fifty years.

The paper by Mr. Alexander Davidson, the Town Clerk of Peterhead, is a short review of the history of the burgh since it was founded in 1587. In the Majority issue of the "Book of Buchan," the History of Peterhead, both ancient and modern, was given in full detail in Sections V and VI of that volume. Those interested in the founding of the burgh will find in the Appendices a full account of the Deeds bearing on Peterhead.

The well-known local historian and University Librarian contributes an article on the Churches and Castles of Mediæval Buchan. Dr. Simpson has already written a number of papers on mediæval architecture and this contribution is just a short summary on the castles and churches in Buchan.

I draw the attention of members, especially, to the President's contribution on "Scholarship in the North-East." Professor Milne calls his contribution "An Armchair Survey" but it is much more than that. He reviews learning and scholarship in the North-East of Scotland from the earliest times to the present day. Of particular interest is his section on "Folk-Scholarship." He pays tributes to William Alexander, the author of "Johnny Gibb"; to Peter Buchan, the Peterhead Ballad collector; to Alexander Keith, the author of "Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs"; to the Rev. John Pratt, the well-known author of "Buchan"; to Alexander MacGregor, the biographer of Flora MacDonald; to Alec MacBain, to W. J. Watson and to John Fraser. He quotes the beautiful poem, "Shon Campbell," the thrilling story of the student who now "lies in Gairloch unhooded and ungowned." A review of classical scholarship follows in which he draws attention to the fact that Aberdeen has an almost unbroken list of Rectors of the Grammar School from the time of Thomas Bennum (1262) to the present day. We learn about Hector Boece, the first Principal of King's College, about John Knox and the role he played in his attempt to give the common people of Scotland an education worthy of their origin and mental attainments. He passes on to "Theological Scholarship" and has much to tell us of "The Troubles" which existed in the North-East owing to the different standpoints of religious bodies. He does not forget to mention that two great mathematicians taught in Aberdeen, namely, Colin MacLaurin and James Clerk Maxwell. He pays a tribute to Professor H. W. Turnbull and to his painstaking researches on the achievements of the great James Gregory. Then we come to "Medical Scholarship." The last section of Professor Milne's article is on "Agricultural Scholarship,"

where he gives well-deserved credit to the North of Scotland College of Agriculture, the Rowett Institute and the Macaulay Institute. He gives amusing accounts of the views of farmers when the Agricultural College was established in 1904. The President's contribution is a real survey of the advance of learning in the North-East corner of Scotland.

The last chapter in this volume is by a very well-known Peterheadian, Dr. R. W. Gray, son of the late Captain David Gray—Captain of the whaler "Eclipse." Dr. Gray writes on "Peterhead and the Greenland Sea." His contribution is sure to be of deep interest to Peterhead people, especially those, or the descendants of those, who took part in whale fishing in Greenland and in the Arctic Seas. No longer do the whalers sail from Peterhead or Dundee to furnish the supply of blubber oil and other products of the whale fishing. Perhaps it is regrettable that no provision was made, either by the whalers themselves or by the Government, to leave a sufficient number of young whales in the Arctic Seas to enable whaling to be a perennial occupation of the expert fishermen of the North-East coast.

Professor W. P. Milne, M.A., D.Sc.

SCHOLARSHIP IN THE NORTH-EAST

(AN ARMCHAIR SURVEY)

BY PROFESSOR W. P. MILNE, M.A., D.Sc.

President of the Buchan Club

Introductory

There is little doubt that anyone venturing to write on this subject some fifty years ago would have adopted a very different view-point from that which one is compelled to adopt to-day. A modern scholar looking around him sees not only the ancient classics, law and divinity being sedulously cultivated, but he sees their cultivators calling in the modern aids of physics, chemistry, biology and even aeroplaning in order to reach their historical and archæological secrets. Thus recent aerial investigations have shown the old tracks on the ground along which the huge stones were conveyed to Stonehenge and their place of origin afar off. He sees everywhere the whole paraphernalia of ancient and modern life being closely scrutinized in the test-tubes of the universities, e.g., brewing, leather, gas, coal, dyeing, etc., they in their turn making rich contributions to our knowledge of the basic theoretical subjects. Half a century and more ago, the almost universal language of these islands, English, was suspect as a candidate for admission among subjects worthy to be classified under the title of 'scholarship.' In the great Public Schools of England itself, there were few, if any, specialist teachers of the native language, which at best was given a grudging admission among subjects capable of stretching the intellect and which was almost universally referred to as a 'soft option.' The teacher of classics usually gave such instruction in English as was deemed admissible, and the official presumption was that his knowledge of the rules of Latin grammar conferred upon him the right to lay down the law upon the vagaries of English syntax as well. Even the venerable Gaelic language had to bow the head before the authority of the Latin tongue, and because the genitives of the Irish fathers did not conform in practice to the genitives of Cicero, the former had to give way in the construction of the Scottish Gaelic Bible and to follow the rules of the Lingua

Latina. Fifty years ago mathematics was admitted as a worthy theme of study for the robuster minds, but not universally. Where denied admission, it was not rejected on the grounds of lack of intellectual austerity, but because of a suspected barbarising effect on the human mind. The boys at one of the greatest of the English Public Schools were definitely instructed by the Reverend the Headmaster to touch their caps to their classical masters, but to render no such homage to their mathematical nor to their writing instructors. Theology and law were admitted without question to the venerable hierarchy of subjects, but it took a very long time before the newer studies in science, modern languages, history, etc., got a secure footing. This does not mean that men's minds in the past did not rove over a wider range of themes. The redoubtable Brigadier William Mackintosh of Borlum (1662-1743), one of the outstanding Jacobite heroes of the '15 and a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, wrote a treatise on agriculture and forestry, but neither agriculture nor forestry would have been classed as a subject under the heading of 'scholarship' by a jury of classical divines half a century ago. Far different was the more modern viewpoint of Sir John Fortescue (1859-1933), the eminent historian of the British Army. He said that if a man begins digging up the records of his parish kirkyard, he will soon be involved in the study of European history.

The object of the present article will be to attempt to survey the development of scholarship in the North-East of Scotland from the general standpoint and more especially to try to assess cause and effect rather than to present a detailed history. In no other part of the country was the John Knox (1514-1572) scheme of universal education carried out with such thoroughness, though belatedly, as in the North-East.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE NORTH-EAST

A survey of the scenery and general social background of the North-East is fundamental to an understanding of its contribution to scholarship. Few natives will dispute that educationally at least, Aberdeenshire is an extremely important and interesting county. Those who are not natives gradually come on close study to take the same view. It is surrounded on the north and east by a peculiarly tempestuous sea. On the south-west, it is guarded from intrusion by lofty hills such as Ben MacDhui, Cairntoul,

etc., and by long rough passes like the Làirig Ghru. There is easy access to it from due south and due west. The ancient province of Buchan, which constitutes the north-eastern portion, is a fertile territory of haughs and rolling uplands, where for centuries every rood has substantially and comfortably maintained its man. It has a copious supply of natural fuel too, and on entering Buchan by crossing the Ythan, the traveller becomes very soon aware of the all-pervasive odour of peat-reek. Throughout this region, the people are by tradition and outlook everything that is associated with the outlook and tradition of the Lowlands of Scotland, industrious, canny, humorous and pawky. This is true more generally down the whole eastern belt of the county, including the county-town of Aberdeen itself. Buchan is by tradition a land, if not flowing with milk and honey, at all events with meal and ale; a land of oatmeal pottitch, corters of oatcakes, sowens, saaty bannocks, Latin, ballads (not always of a godly and improving character), bleak farmhouses, Jacobites, Episcopalian chapels and gaunt Presbyterian kirks. The inhabitants combine an innate calculative caution with congenital godliness, as is evidenced by the fact that they have been accustomed to print their Shorter Catechisms with the Multiplication Table inscribed *in extenso* on the final outermost 'brod.' The spacious river Dee with its rolling waters forms in the south the boundary of Low-country Aberdeenshire. Far different is it with the other end of the shire. It is a superbly beautiful land of woods, waters and lofty hills, stretching range upon range on all sides, with the infant Dee taking its diminutive rise upon the wide flat summit of Brae Riach, and becoming rapidly something more than a burn before it tumbles over the precipice into the Garbh Choire, more than four thousand feet below. There is poetry in the Gaelic names of the mountains too, some of which have received a discreet free translation from the old Mar stalkers before being released for general circulation in the mouths of the Sassenach. It is a Highland region by tradition, the territory of the Clan Farquharson, Gaelic in speech and heavily charged with romance. Queen Victoria did well to select it as her Highland home. Byron was inspired by the scenery and associations to write his poem of 'Dark Lochnagar,' and he said in later life that the Albanian language resembled in his ears the Aberdeenshire Gaelic of Glengairn. Over the heather-clad, high-set moors to the west lies Donside. "A Mile o' Don's worth twa o' Dee" says the auld fret. This debate has never yet been settled. The

Aberdeenshire Poll-Book of 1696 is still extant, the only one to survive of all the counties in Scotland, it is said. It is an invaluable repository of information about all persons living in Aberdeenshire at that time, their environment and financial worth. It was compiled by the Scotch Government as a kind of National Register in case of war, etc., and gives the name of every man, woman and often child living in Aberdeenshire in 1696, their avocations and pecuniary assessment. From this document, still throbbing with life after nearly 250 years, one finds that the commonest names in Buchan in that bye-gone age are the homely names of Smith and Milne; redolent of crafts intimately connected with the soil; stark stern names that seem to combine with the gauntness of the landscape in impressing upon the Buchan man from the cradle to the grave the inevitability of the Biblical injunction that if he does not work, neither shall he eat. In the Highland parishes of Upper Deeside, on the other hand, predominate the surnames of Stewart and Farquharson, names reeking of romance and bye-gone chivalry. Such the names, such the people. In a shire containing two such extremes as Buchan and Braemar, one would expect to find a betwixt-and-between region, and this one does in Strathbogie and the lands of the west, with a loveliness of their own; low hills suddenly shooting out from ploughed fields, and patches of heather obtruding themselves among yellow corn. The old Oyne versifier, with a keener regard for the innate character of his theme than for the highest canons of rhyme construction, has sung:

> The Kirk o' Een,
> It stan's its leen,
> Upon a hill,
> O' funs an' breem;

and Aberdeenshire men the world over will know that this verse, in common with Paradise Lost, Hamlet, Dante's Divine Comedy and Tam o' Shanter, has the salt of immortality within it.

Such a life-long grip does the scenery and background of the North-East exercise upon her sons, that an Oxford scholar, listening at widely differing times to two eminent Aberdeenshire professors of Latin, both graduates of Cambridge, prelecting before English audiences on the Roman poet Catullus, said that it became abundantly apparent to him from their copious quotations during both their discourses that, though one may learn the minutiae of Catullus's grammar in the colleges of Cambridge, never-

theless no man can hope to enter into full communion with the spirit and soul of the poet until he has thoroughly mastered Burns' ode to a moosie and carried out an extensive and systematic course of divagations "faar the Gadie rins at the back o' Bennachie."

FOLK-SCHOLARSHIP

Out of such a background it was inevitable that a considerable volume of home-spun scholarship should spring in full panoply from the soil. No one would be more astonished than William Alexander (1826-1894) himself to hear it suggested that he had any claim to the title of scholar. Yet such he was. He was reared in West Aberdeenshire, where the Grampian Mountains, having exhausted their wildest paroxysms, sink gradually down to the sea, their last convulsion being that loveliest and best known of all the Aberdeenshire hills, Bennachie. Amongst the foothills and knowes that abound in this region all around Insch and Huntly, the land of Bonnie Lewie Gordon and his exploits in the '45, are many profitable farms, crofts and much fertile land. They used to be plundered regularly from the neighbouring Highlands. "Ay," said a farmer of this district, "there's mony a braa stot in bygane times gane soochin' up the Cabrach an' left a teem sta' in'ts byre i' the mornin'." For centuries the Gaelic has gone in this region and its place has been taken by what is considered by many authorities the richest, most individualistic, most expressive and most important philologically of all the dialects of English. William Alexander rose to his opportunities. He was reared amidst this language and knew its every note, inflexion and idiom as it was spoken in the early and middle part of last century, before it had been seriously corrupted by the beneficent influences of Education Acts and the B.B.C. While editor of the "Aberdeen Free Press," he became ill and had a period of convalescence at Dess, on Deeside, one of those rare periods in life when through bodily infirmity the mind lives on its own agglomerated fat and reviews its past. He decided to write a more or less connected series of incidents, illustrating the daily life of his own people in the district of the Garioch. He wrote 'Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk,' one of those spontaneous upcomes of supreme genius. The characterisation of the people is that of a first-rate artist, but this by itself belongs to the art of the novelist and historian rather than to that of

the scholar. In addition to the representation of scenes and personalities, however, he decided to record accurate speech and idiom, and furthermore, to represent its pronunciation as nearly as he could phonetically. Great writers like Sir Walter Scott, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Robert Burns aimed at writing a kind of cosmopolitan Scots, much mingled with English and frequently with the Scottish words themselves spelt *anglice*, the reader being left to supply his own pronunciation. A well-known Scottish comedian has put it definitely down on record that he noted at the beginning of his stage career that his forerunners among the Scottish variety entertainers had failed in their appeal to a purely English audience by the luxuriance and riot of their dialect, which could not be properly understanded of a purely English audience. He himself decided to avoid any such contingency by using only about half a dozen well-known Scottish dialect words, together with a comprehensible English vocabulary enunciated with an exaggerated Scotch pronunciation. No such compromises were for William Alexander. He did not write the Aberdeenshire dialect of Buchan or of Deeside or of Donside, but the strictly accurate folk-speech of his native Garioch, and he gave as nearly as he could upon paper their manner of speaking it. He had no modern system of phonetic symbolism at his disposal, but he invented a system of vowels and combinations of vowels that represented the sounds of the spoken words as nearly as he could. He inserted no archaisms but has preserved for all time the Garioch folk-speech of 1800-1880. Even more remarkable is the fact that of recent years the folk-speech of the North-East has attracted the skilled attention of an eminent Swiss scholar, Professor Eugen Dieth of Zürich, who, provided with an academic equipment to which William Alexander would have laid no claim, is in the course of preparing and publishing the most complete critical survey—phonetic, philological, grammatical and historical—of the Buchan dialect (which naturally closely resembles the dialect of the neighbouring Garioch) that formal scholarship has yet seen.

Less concerned with accurate verbal scholarship, Gavin Greig (1856-1914), the learned schoolmaster of Whitehill, New Deer, in Buchan, devoted his life to collecting the old folk ballads and tunes of the North-East before they perished for ever. Many a gloaming would he spend sitting on a corn-kist in a stable taking down recitations hot from the mouths of the farm-hands, or he would sit by the ingle-neuk with the family itself, half-smored by the 'flans' of acrid peat-reek that would

intermittently descend in volumes upon them, and all the time semi-chilled by the icy draught that swept through the kitchen from the outer door and up the open lum above them, copying down strouds from the lips of the farmer himself, with many an apologetic "Hoot fie, Mains," from the gweedwife, for the ungodly and unedifying character of what her husband was singing or reciting. On occasions, too, Gavin Greig would be 'convoy't tae the eyn' o' the neep park' on a pouring wet winter's night by mine host, when the latter would suddenly recollect a forgotten verse and down they would 'flap aneth a breem buss' for protection from the elements to copy down the precious material by the help of a 'bouat' lamp with its guttering light. These 'Last leaves of Aberdeen ballads and ballad airs' have been edited and published in a scholarly form by Alexander Keith, and contain critical references to the earlier and less ripe work, but no less valuable on that account, of Peter Buchan (1790-1854), the "hirsute" (to quote the words of Sir Walter Scott) Peterhead printer and indefatigable ballad collector.

John B. Pratt (1798-1869), the Episcopal minister of Cruden, staff in hand wandered over his native province and recorded its main geographical, antiquarian and topographical features in his book on 'Buchan.' There is, however, no space to deal at greater length with the development of local scholarship appertaining to Low-country Aberdeenshire.

Upper Deeside in the middle of last century produced an equally interesting and spontaneous personality in the figure of John Grant Michie (1830-1904). A pure Highlander and Gaelic-speaking from his birth, inheriting all the romantic atmosphere so peculiar to the feudal and clan-system, he was born at Wester Micras near Crathie and spent a childhood and youth of that great hardship which by tradition seems indissolubly connected with Highland birth. The introduction to his 'Deeside Tales' contains a portion of autobiography, suddenly broken off as old age and infirmity supervened, that is in some respects hardly of less interest than that of Sir Walter Scott which is set down at the beginning of Lockhart's 'Life' as a record of certain aspects of former Scottish life. The Poll-Book of 1696 enabled Michie to say that his great-great-grandfather came as a shepherd from Strathdon towards the latter part of the sixteen hundreds and settled on Gairnside, tending a few sheep on the hills and tilling a few acres of land by the moors. The family were Roman Catholics, but Michie's father married a Protestant woman and their son, though reared a Catholic,

ultimately embraced the Reformed Faith. He got little regular schooling and spent most of his teens helping to fell timber and sail it down the Dee to the timber-yards of Aberdeen. This work was both dangerous and exposed in the winter months to incessant rain, ice, snow and cold. The continual immersion in the icy waters of the Dee, while guiding the logs, brought on intermittent attacks of gastric catarrh and violent sick headaches, to which he remained a martyr for the rest of his life. As time went on, he was able by almost superhuman efforts to acquire a sufficient amount of preliminary education to get a presentation bursary through the good offices of his old teacher, Dr. Melvin of the Aberdeen Grammar School. He entered Aberdeen University and qualified in Arts and Divinity. Without influence, he was for long unable to get a kirk and was for many years schoolmaster at Logie Coldstone, a sparsely populated moorland parish twixt Dee and Don. Later on he became minister of Dinnet. All this time he was soaking himself in the geology, lore, language, history and antiquities of his native Deeside, which never ceased to have a peculiar fascination for him. The result was a series of pioneering articles of great value in several directions. He devotes much space to the geological formations of the Dee Valley, to minute philological discussions on the Gaelic place-names and personal surnames of Upper Deeside, to traditional tales such as the incursion of the MacGregors from the 'wilds of Rannoch' to Deeside, to critical articles on the ancient stones of the district such as those around the Kirk of Tullich. There is one hiatus in his work, however, which all scholars will regret. All his tales are recounted in the Low-country Aberdeenshire dialect, which had percolated up the valley of the Dee and which was as freely spoken as the Gaelic in Michie's day in his native region. The result is that he has left no specimen in continuous narrative of the Aberdeenshire dialect of Gaelic which he knew so well as his mother tongue. The reason is probably not far to seek. The Gaelic language was held of little account in his time and he doubtless felt that he would get the ear of a wider audience if he made the bilingual characters in his tales speak in the Low-country tongue. The magnificently conceived pioneering linguistic and historical work of Michie has not received from modern scholars that further intensive development since he laid down his tools in 1904, which the importance of the work has so richly merited. There are native Aberdeenshire Gaelic speakers alive to-day whose language and

vocabulary have not been minutely studied before it is too late. Thus, in respect of modern developments, the Highland Michie has fared less fortunately than the Low-country Alexander. In passing, it is interesting to note that these two champions of Aberdeenshire folk-scholarship, Alexander and Michie, both with their origins deep-rooted in the very rock and soil of their native shire, but both so completely representative each in his own way of the twin texture of Gaelic-English-speaking Scotland, were great personal friends, and that Alexander was a frequent visitor at the Manse of Dinnet. What talk must have been within these four walls, and also on the Continent of Europe, where they had many a canty holiday together!

In a different field of folk-scholarship lies the work of Alexander MacGregor (1806-1881), who wrote what still remains the standard biography of the Jacobite heroine Flora MacDonald. He was born in the lovely Glengairn near Ballater, where his father, the Rev. Robert MacGregor, was missionary on the Royal Bounty. As a Gaelic-speaking boy from the Deeside Highlands, he went to King's College, Aberdeen, and qualified in Arts and Divinity. Meanwhile his father had gone as minister to Kilmuir in Skye, where his son became in succession his assistant, colleague and successor. The latter subsequently accepted a call to the Gaelic Church in Edinburgh and finally to the West Church in Inverness. While in Skye, he obtained his materials for his life of Flora MacDonald at first-hand from the lips of her daughter Anne. He was a prolific writer in Gaelic journals on Celtic subjects, and his book on Highland 'Superstition' is at once interesting and valuable. He translated the Apocrypha into Gaelic at the request of Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who himself financed the undertaking. This literary and historical work (much quoted by Alexander Nicolson in his 'History of Skye') was the direct outcome of the Gaelic background in which MacGregor was reared as a boy in the Deeside Highlands.

This sketch, however, of the development of folk-scholarship in the North-East would not be complete without some reference to scholars who were in no sense natives of this region and in no sense inheritors of its traditions, but who were educated there and hence imbibed something of its spirit and outlook. The northern and western Highlands have never produced and supported a centuries-old university, and hence there is no university centre of culture within the Highland Line based upon the Gaelic language and the traditions it enshrines. It is fairly easy to understand the

reason for this. The Highlands were in a very unsettled state at the time when the Scottish Universities were being founded. Also a great focus of culture of university standing is extremely expensive to maintain, and the Highlands for obvious reasons is not a wealthy region. It is perhaps a debatable question also if one can establish a really effective College of Gaelic studies without simultaneously establishing a department of Latin and Greek, which languages are closely related in vocabulary, grammar and syntax to the Celtic tongues, and thus from any starting-point of culture that one chooses, the circle widens until all learning is embraced. Undeterred by such *a priori* theoretical considerations, however, Canada has blazed the trail and has set on foot a Gaelic college. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the fact that the four ancient universities of Scotland have found themselves, each and every one, placed in English-speaking districts, has acted detrimentally to the cultivation of those studies—linguistic, historical, archæological, etc.—which are based upon Gaelic, and hence to the full understanding of the Scottish tradition itself. The North-East has experienced this as much as the more obvious West Highlands and Islands. The position in the Gaelic world of the North-East has not received the same intensive and progressive study as its historical development based upon English. The 'Book of Deer' was compiled in the Celtic monastery of Deer in Buchan, in the Gaelic of the time, round about the period 1000 A.D., very roughly speaking, and it was only a very few centuries after that before Gaelic began to recede as the language of Buchan, and Northumbrian English to take its place. Nowadays, the ordinary Buchan man who has no pretensions to scholarship would be thunderstruck to hear that Gaelic had ever been the medium of everyday intercourse in the Buchan of his ancestors. In fact, if he saw a facsimile of a Gaelic page from the Black Book of Deer, with its strange Irish script, and were told that this had been composed and written among his own forbears ten miles from Peterhead, he would feel more or less as a teuchat might be expected to feel if she suddenly found in her nest a little corbie amongst the brodmil which she herself had produced after her kind. On the other hand, it must in perpetuity be a source of internal satisfaction and spiritual uplift to the monosyllabic Broons, Reids, Smiths, Mulls and Protts who till the knaps and howes of that part of Buchan to-day and who know the secret of the Black Book to remember that the lands they have inherited were once "gifted to God, to Colum Cille and to

Drostan" by progenitors who had sufficient force and imagination to bestow on themselves such awesome appellations as Cómgeall mac Eda, Moridac mac Morcunn, Cainnech mac meic Dobarcon, Gartnait mac Cannech, Ete ingen Gillemichel, etc.; and to dwell in such spacious lands as Bidbin, Ros Abard, Turbruad, Abbordobor, Furene, which their more prosaic descendants of to-day have watered down to Biffie, Rosehearty, Turra, Aberdour, Pitfour (?) respectively. The Book of Deer received a careful study by Dr. John Stuart and the results of his work were published by the Spalding Club in 1869. Later eminent scholars have also dealt with the Book—Alexander MacBain (1885), Professor W. J. Watson (1915), Professor John Fraser of Oxford (1938), etc. A distinguished worker in contiguous fields has, however, given it as his view that no modern Celtic linguist and historian has as yet subjected the book to that intensive all-round scrutiny with the full equipment of modern scholarship which the Book deserves. In addition to the Latin entries on religious subjects and a brief charter of David I, the entries in Gaelic deal with the gifts and privileges granted by the Mormaers of Buchan and Moray to Columba and Drostan. A singularly picturesque and pleasing account is given in Gaelic of the visit of Columba and Drostan his pupil to Deer from Iona, the base of Columba's missionary operations. After negotiations had been completed for the establishment of the monastery at Deer, the time for Columba's departure came and Drostan wept. "Let Dear be its name henceforward," said Columba, 'dear' (or 'deur' as it is usually spelt nowadays) being the Gaelic word for a 'tear.' It seems worth while, for the sake of completeness, to give a brief quotation from this narrative of old Buchan, rendered word for word from the old Gaelic into the Gaelic of to-day by Professor W. J. Watson: "Air sin thug Calum Cille do Dhrostan a' chathair sin; agus bheannaich e i, agus dh'fhag am briathar, 'cia b'e thigeadh ris, na biodh e bliadhnach buadhach.' Thàinig deoir Dhrostain air sgaradh ri Calum Cille; labhair Calum Cille 'biodh Deur a ainm o so a mach.'" The wanderings of the Book of Deer are shrouded in mystery until the year 1697. It was in 1697 in the possession of Dr. Moore, the bishop of Norwich, who afterwards became Bishop of Ely. In 1715 George I bought Dr. Moore's library and presented it to the University of Cambridge, in whose safe custody it still is. Possessing, therefore, no centres of higher learning within the frontiers of the Highland line, students from the northern

Highland counties of Inverness, Ross, Sutherland and the outer Isles have for centuries poured down to Aberdeen for their advanced studies and there is abundant evidence in the written word of the affection they have conceived for their exotic Alma Mater. Let the poem, "Shon Campbell," of W. A. Mackenzie (b. 1870) of Invergordon and Alness, Ross-shire, and now of Geneva, speak for itself:

Shon Campbell went to College,
Because he wanted to;
He left the croft in Gairloch
To dive in Bain and Drew[1];
Shon Campbell died at College,
When the sky of spring was blue.

Shon Campbell went to College,
The pulpit was his aim;
By day and night he ground,
For he was Hielan, dour and game;
The session was a hard one,
Shon flickered like a flame.

Shon Campbell went to College,
And gave the ghost up there,
Attempting six men's cramming,
On a mean and scanty fare;
Three days the Tertians mourned for him,
'Twas all that they could spare.

Shon Campbell lies in Gairloch,
Unhooded and ungown'd,
The green quadrangle of the hills,
To watch his sleep profound,
And the Gaudeamus of the burns
Making a homely sound.

But when the Last Great Roll is call'd,
And 'adsums' thunder loud,
And when the quad. is cumber'd with an eager jostling crowd;
The Principal, who rules us all,
Will say, "Shon Campbell, come,
Your Alma Mater hails you, Magister Artium."

[1] Drew's 'Conic Sections,' a mathematical textbook of the day.

Concerning the life-long spiritual relationship that is forged between Aberdeen University and her North-Highland students during their four brief years of study, nothing further can be added to the above touching poem.

Ewen MacLachlan (1773-1822), a native of Nether Lochaber, was educated at Aberdeen University and became rector of the Grammar School of Old Aberdeen and University librarian. In Aberdeen itself he wrote much fine Gaelic poetry and translated Homer's 'Iliad' into the Gaelic language. Alexander MacBain (1855-1907), of Glenfeshie in Badenoch, Inverness-shire, the distinguished Celtic scholar, received his university training at Aberdeen, but of those who contributed more specially to folk-scholarship, an astonishing example is afforded by Donald Sage (1789-1869) of Resolis in his 'Memorabilia Domestica, or Parish Life in the North of Scotland.' This is a truly amazing book and should be in the hands of every Aberdeen graduate who wishes to get an intimate insight into the North Highlands of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness during the two centuries 1650 to 1850, as well as into the student life of Aberdeen during the same period. The minister of Resolis in Easter Ross sat in his room among his books and papers and viewed the past events of his own life and that of his forbears from the window of his Highland manse. The result is the detailed delineation of the lives and characters of a whole gallery of throbbing vital figures, lairds, chiefs, factors, ministers, elders, schoolmasters, crofters, university professors, covering a period of two hundred years. There are full accounts in the book of class-room lessons, fights in Highland kailyards between Presbyterians and Episcopalians over the possession of the thatched kirk, elders' meetings, catechisings, journeyings by sea and land from the Highlands of Caithness, Sutherland and Ross to the Low Country, political meetings, Highland inns and so forth. Whatever criticisms in detail can be passed upon the Universities of Aberdeen, their teaching and their administration, one has only to read the documentary reports produced by the Sages to be left with no delusions as to the extremely effective character—literary, critical and constructive—of the instruction given in these institutions even in these remote days, as evidenced by the written productions of these Gaelic-speaking boys from the Northern Highlands, reared in districts almost devoid of English. Donald Sage's great-grandfather, Murdoch Sage, was reared an Episcopalian during the reigns of Charles II and James II, but in later life he

turned Presbyterian. He occupied a small farm in Easter Ross and held the office of messenger-at-arms. In pursuance of his duties, he had to arrest a gentleman of rank, who however saw him coming and fired at him from a loophole in a turret commanding the entrance to his residence, thus mortally wounding him. Murdoch's son, Eneas Sage (1694-1774) was born in Easter Ross, educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and became the renowned and redoubtable minister of Lochcarron, whose exploits are still related freely throughout the Highlands. While a student, he absented himself for two days from his classes to go and view the Old Pretender or Chevalier St. George during his indisposition at the Castle of Fetteresso in Kincardineshire. He frequently afterwards gave a graphic description of him as "a feeble descendant of ancient royalty, whose countenance was considerably above the common cast of faces, and was even royal, but it had a pale sickly hue expressive of weakness." He also stated that "his fierce and mailed followers, the Earls of Mar and Marischal, Cameron of Lochiel, General Hamilton, and others, stood around him with heads uncovered, and to these men of bold and vigorous spirit, he yielded himself much as would a child to its nurse." When Eneas was inducted as the first Presbyterian minister of Lochcarron, he found an almost overwhelming opposition from the Episcopalians of the district. His first night was spent in a barn full of straw and constructed of wattled reeds, there being no suitable lodgings for him elsewhere. He and his friends awoke through the night to find the barn ablaze, but the young minister rushed forth and chased the incendiary, who threw away his torch in the pursuit. At the delinquent's own door, Eneas grabbed him by the back of the neck, and being a man of prodigious strength hustled him along to the barn, where, completely contrary to the man's expectations, he heaped coals of fire upon his head by placing copious viands before him. "Go," he cried, "and tell your neighbours how the Whig ministers avenge their wrongs." His troubles with his parishioners did not cease until after a long time, however, and often the young minister was in sore travail of spirit as to how to turn his godless parishioners into chosen vessels. He was a man of resource, however. Games were played every Sunday on a green not far from his church all through the service. He met one man going home from the games and covenanted with him for a pound of snuff to be delivered every Sabbath day if he and his family would attend divine service. The bargain was kept and at the end of the

year a sermon was preached from the text, "What shall it profit a man if he should," etc. The man became conscience-stricken and proved a brand snatched from the burning. Eneas's son, Alexander Sage (1753-1824), was born at the manse of Lochcarron and became minister of Kildonan in Sutherlandshire. He went to school at Cromarty under Mr. John Russel and was taught Latin by the 'Direct Method'—which is therefore no new thing. His son Donald was born in the manse of Kildonan, and was educated at Marischal College and in the Divinity Halls of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. He was for a time the Gaelic minister in Aberdeen. Perhaps the most poignant reading in his whole book 'Memorabilia Domestica' is his detailed account of the 'Sutherland Clearances' in 1819, of which he was an eye-witness. As minister, he preached to his doomed and stricken flock at Achness, and the Sabbath after at Ach-na-h-Uaighe. Here is his account: "It was a Tuesday. At an early hour of that day Mr. Sellar (the factor), accompanied by the Fiscal, and escorted by a strong body of constables, sheriff-officers and others, commenced work at Grummore, the first inhabited township to the west of the Achness district. Their plan of operation was to clear the cottages of their inmates, giving them half-an-hour to pack up and carry off their furniture, and then set the cottages on fire. To this plan they ruthlessly adhered, without the slightest regard to any obstacle that might arise while carrying it into execution." He then describes in detail two particularly harrowing cases. A soldier's widow had followed her husband to his death in the wars in Sicily and Spain. She returned to her native Grumbeg and talked incessantly to all who would listen on wars, battles, marchings and counter-marchings. She was given the allotted half-hour in which to clear out her furniture from her doomed cottage, and she pleaded for time to take it to the residence of a friendly shepherd on the opposite shore of the loch. This was refused and she took out her all and stacked it at the gable of her cottage. The torch was applied and the wind blew in the direction of her possessions. Within an hour her total worldly possessions were in ashes. They pleaded for time also in the case of the good wife of Rhimisdale who was bedridden with rheumatism. This too was denied, and she was lifted in a blanket by four strong youths and transported from her cottage. The pain caused by the removal was so intense that she could not restrain her cries. This treatment brought on a burning fever, and she died a few months later. Thus a big populous

district was rendered in the twinkling of an eye void of human population, and Donald Sage, thus summarily bereft of his flock of Sutherlandshire 'aborigines' (the word is his own), departed for Aberdeen to become the Gaelic minister there. His 'Memorabilia Domestica' is a contribution to folk-scholarship of paramount importance, and constitutes one of the most authoritative sources of information on the domestic, social and religious life in Caithness, Sutherland and Ross from 1650 to 1860 that exists. It is the direct fruit of an Aberdeen education received for several generations by North-Highland ministers.

CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Proceeding now from the realm of folk-scholarship to the more standardised domains of academic study, we pass rapidly in review the development of formal scholarship in the North-East. The contribution of Aberdeenshire to the world's experiments in the education of the people as a whole is so remarkable and unique that it merits some detailed consideration. Any man from the North-East of between the ages of fifty and a hundred can easily bear witness personally to the educational principles and procedure of which he himself and his forbears were the actual product. Practically every schoolmaster presiding over a parish school, no matter how remotely situated, was a university graduate. Many of them had full training in both Arts and Divinity, and in many cases only awaited the call from the schoolmaster's desk to the minister's pulpit in a parish kirk. Their schools in by-gone days had usually thatched roofs and earthen floors, and the schoolboys brought their daily peat to keep the school fire burning. Textbooks were few and they did their 'sums' or attempted to write the language of Caesar and Cicero upon a 'sklett' with 'skaalee' or 'skyllie,' pronounced according to the fashion of the region in which they were reared. One who had been educated at a Burgh School of importance and dignified age situated in Buchan, and who would now be over a hundred years of age had he been alive, thus narrates his experiences :—

"The dominie, an M.A. of Aberdeen, came in every morning and went the first thing to his press for the 'tag.' This was a two-fingered instrument of stout leather, each finger being about eight inches to a foot in length. This apparatus he inserted in the peat-fire for a second or two, and there-

after 'dunted' to a proper consistency by laying it on a rounded stone lying ready on the hearth and 'chapping' it vigorously with another. This instrument thus properly attuned to the accepted educational ideals of the day he then slung across his right shoulder ready for instant application. The boys were called out on to the floor in relays according to their ages and proficiency, and the dominie went round the class in rapid succession vigorously castigating as he went those who failed in the slightest degree in their knowledge of the minutiae of the 'Laitin' tongue. After an hour or two of this process of alternate questioning and almost uninterrupted flagellation, the dominie would stop from sheer exhaustion on the part of himself and his pupils, and he would then say—for he was a very kindly man—, 'Noo, loons, A think we widna be neen the waar o' a spring.' He would then take down his fiddle and play off one after another a series of animated tunes of the reel and strathspey variety, after which educational operations would be resumed once more. A specially vigorous part of this instruction consisted in intensive drilling in the vagaries of what we boys called 'the lickin' verbs,' from the vigorous part played by the 'tag' in this portion of our intellectual discipline. For five hours every day we did 'oor Laitin,' and the last hour was devoted to 'coontin' in which the 'maister' had little interest. The forenoon of Saturday was devoted to 'speerin the Cattitches.' "

The foregoing description of the curriculum of an Aberdeenshire school fifty to a hundred and fifty years ago may be taken as fairly typical. Hardly any boys reared thus can ever have suspected that the Latin language was actually the spoken instrument of a highly cultivated race in which they expressed daily-day their loves and hates, hopes and fears. Of the general culture, habits, manners, and political outlook of the Roman people in the zenith of their glory, the boys had not a glimpse. It is doubtful if the majority of the schoolmasters had it themselves. But of the minutiae and complications of Latin grammar and inflexions, there is probably not a race of farmers and agricultural workers in the world who were more accurately and intimately informed, and who could at a moment's notice detail till their dying days, under any circumstances, the prepositions that govern the ablative, the nouns of the first declension that take '-abus' in the dative plural, the various methods of making 'purpose' after 'verbs of motion,' etc., or who could produce an equal number of doggerel rhymes to reinforce

their flagging and supersaturated memories as to the irrational genders of the nouns of the Latin tongue. The Aberdeenshire vernacular reeks with common everyday words derived from this daily gruelling discipline in Latin among the schools. "Hae ye gotten yer *pandies* the day?" is the kindly question put by almost any mature man who meets a boy going homeward from school. "Fin I wis i' ma *potestaator*," said an old man dilating on the days of his youth and prime. "Ay, an' ye're aye birzin't in," said a farmer to the parish schoolmaster going home from his daily duties, thus bearing eloquent testimony to the instructional methods under which he himself had been taught.

The following educational process is probably unique in the annals of educational theory and practice, and confined to Aberdeenshire alone. We quote a description of it verbatim from 'Scottish Education' by Dr. John Kerr, His Majesty's Inspector of Schools.

"A school appliance probably known only in Aberdeenshire is perhaps worthy of mention, viz., the 'queelin' (cooling) stane.' This was a smooth flat stone upon which offenders were made to sit after their unprotected and overheated cuticle had been subjected to the discipline of the birch or tawse. Whether the cooling stone was meant as an additional punishment or as a grateful alleviation of suffering must be left to conjecture. . . . Cooling stones are no longer in use, but they existed in some Aberdeen schools till the nineteenth century."

It will thus be seen that for well over a century in the north-east of Scotland there has existed in every parish an exceedingly well trained schoolmaster, almost inevitably a university graduate with a well-defined system of education in the Latin tongue, narrow in outlook no doubt, but excellent and robust in quality. Such universality of good education has probably not been at the disposal of the general body of the inhabitants of any other rural region of the world at so early a period of the world's history as over a century ago, and it may therefore be of interest to enquire into the causes of its existence in this somewhat remote quarter of the globe.

Probably the prime cause was the existence from of old of a city which was at once an important trading, fishing, shipping, agricultural and ecclesiastical centre. As early as the fourteenth century, Aberdeen was able to produce and maintain in residence an Archdeacon of the quality of

John Barbour (1316-1395), who wrote the learned and patriotic epic poem, 'The Bruce' or 'Brus,' of 14,000 octosyllabic lines in the middle Scots.

The Grammar School of Aberdeen has been a renowned seminary of learning for youth since the period 1200 at least, and an almost unbroken list of its Rectors exists from Thomas de Bennum (1262), the existence of 'de' in his name and that of Andrew de Syves (who died about 1418) showing that the Rectorship was deemed a fitting office for the scions of the landed gentry. The linguistic attainments of the earlier generations of Grammar School boys appear to have been considerable, for in Vaus's *Rudimenta Artis Grammaticae*, issued in Paris in 1533, they are allowed a free choice of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Gaelic in which to talk and express their feelings, but the vernacular is sternly forbidden. The foundation of King's College in 1494-5 by William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Marischal College in 1593 by George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal, were the next important events in the chain of causes. Elphinstone had gentle blood in his veins in the sense that his father belonged to an aristocratic family, who while Archdeacon of Teviotdale had taken to himself a mistress from amongst the people. The first Principal of King's College was a young professor in the University of Paris, who had left Dundee as plain Hector Boys, but who returned from Paris to take charge of the young University with the more seemly appellation of Hector Boethius. His salary was forty merks and in 1528 the University bestowed on him a doctorate in recognition of his merits as a historian, while the Town Council hastened to manifest its appreciation by voting him a tun of wine and £20 Scots for a new bonnet, thereby showing that even in 1528 professorial attire required some external stimulus to keep it up-to-date. In presenting the case for the North-East, the appellants through King James IV had informed the Pope that the new University was to civilise through the medium of advanced educational facilities a "remote portion of Scotland cut off from the rest of the Kingdom by arms of the sea and very lofty mountains, and inhabited by unlettered, ignorant and almost barbarous people, who have scarcely among them men capable of preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments." Salvation was to be obtained by placing the new University "in the renowned ancient city of Aberdeen, where the ignorant would acquire knowledge and the rude erudition." Had His Holiness in far Italy consulted his atlas to find the exact location of these 'arms of the sea,' and

made a not unreasonable generalisation therefrom as to the verbal accuracy of the other detailed statements in the document, he might not have found himself disposed to place undue credence on the alleged barbarous character of the people, that previous to this time had produced an important ecclesiastical centre, John Barbour and a distinguished Grammar School. Doubtless, however, the protagonists of the scheme were concerned more with presenting to the Pope an impressive case than with illuminating him as to the strictly accurate geographical facts connected with the remoter regions of his spiritual kingdom. Be that as it may, he granted the desired Bull to the good Bishop, and the work of civilising the Aberdonians and their neighbours in the bordering counties proceeded apace. Marischal College was founded a century later and helped to carry on the good work, while remote Fraserburgh, actuated also by civilising zeal, founded a University on its own in 1600, but like the seed which fell on stony places where there was not much earth, it had no root and withered away after five years. King's and Marischal Colleges were united into one University in 1860. It is true that the history of these centres of learning was chequered. Sometimes they were full of light and leading, and sometimes the taper waxed dim, but slowly and surely a background of higher study was created in the North-East which was not outwith the reach of the poorest. We may not nowadays, in the plenitude of our wisdom and experience, always approve of the academic procedure adopted throughout the centuries. It is narrated, whether true or not, that an old Admiral ready to retire from the sea notified his friends in his native North-East of his imminent retiral. After the requisite formalities he was appointed professor of Greek, this being the first Chair to fall vacant after he left the sea. At the end of his first session as professor, he called out to his class on the appointed day, "Mr. MacTavish, first prize." There was no response until the announcement was twice further repeated. The answer then came in a powerful Highland accent, "Keep it for yourself, Sir, ye have learnt more Greek this session than I have." James Beattie (1735-1803), 'the Minstrel,' while a young schoolmaster at the Grammar School of Aberdeen, was suddenly offered the Chair of Natural Philosophy at Marischal College, but feeling in his own mind the very reasonable objection that he knew nothing whatever about the subject, he applied to be transferred to the Chair of Moral Philosophy and Logic, a request which was immediately granted, though

his qualifications for the second Chair would likewise hardly bear critical scrutiny.

An overwhelmingly important factor in the development of scholarship in the North-East as well as in the rest of Scotland was the influence of John Knox (1514-1572). He that would understand the spiritual outlook and mental make-up of John Knox must betake himself in the flesh or in fancy to Old Geneva, and visit the haunts of the great Scotch Reformer in that city. When Knox arrived there, the north-country Frenchman, John Calvin (1509-1564), was a man in his 'potestaator,' in full possession of the pulpit of the cathedral, from which he had successfully and finally dispossessed the Red Whore of Babylon. He was resolved to convert Geneva into a 'city of God.' To that end, he founded its University, for his outlook was fundamentally intellectual. Like all great reformers, he pinned his faith upon the training of youth. He recognised that the aged have reached that stage of mellow satisfaction when they have abjured all unnecessary activity and prefer to look back upon the roseate hues of early dawn in their own lives. He knew, too, that the intellectual processes and spiritual functionings of such as are of riper years have become affected with middle-aged spread. Bearing these natural processes in mind, he focussed his attention upon those in their teens. Every Sabbath Day from his cathedral pulpit he harangued the middle-aged and the old and adjured them to flee from the wrath to come, but every week-day he collected the young students in the ancient building called the Auditorium across the narrow street from the cathedral, and drilled into them those dogmas of Theology and Religion which were to make them just men in this world and saints in that which is to come. Thus intellectually and spiritually equipped, he sent them forth east and west and south and north to spread abroad the tidings of salvation as he himself envisaged it.

Into this milieu came John Knox.

The inscription on the first slab of the 'Wall of the Reformation' near the University is significant in view of Knox's later career in Scotland.

"Le 21 Mai 1536 le peuple de Genève assemblé en conseil général a ratifié les édits de réformation et décrété l'instruction publique obligatoire."

Above the door of the Auditorium one reads :—

"1541 L'Auditoire de Calvin 1564."

On the left-hand side of the self-same door is affixed to the wall a tablet bearing the notice :—

JOHN KNOX.

Réformateur Calviniste Ecossais.

Elu Pasteur de la Colonie Anglaise et Bourgeois de Genève

Précha dans cette Eglise de 1556 à 1559.

Thus the Auditorium was occupied by Calvin and his theological students through the week, and by Knox and his English congregation on Sundays. The sand-scrubbed floor, the hard wooden forms, the pulpit and pulpit chair, the precentor's desk are still there for all to see as in Calvin and Knox's time.

In due course, John Knox returned to Scotland full of reforming zeal and determined to prepare the ground for a great outpouring of the spirit over his native land. Among his special interests was that of universal education throughout all ranks of the people, in town and country alike. General beneficent aspirations towards universal education may prove themselves however somewhat vague and feckless unless embodied in a definite scheme set down in black upon white.

John Knox embodied his plans for popular education in his First Book of Discipline. To finance this scheme, he proceeded according to the slogan, "Gif ye want to get rid of the rooks, ding doon their nests," and so harried the monasteries and attempted to get possession of their wealth and resources. Knox's scheme was only partly successful in his own lifetime and for long afterwards, owing to the remissness of Parliament and the rapacity of the nobles who seized the monastic possessions and thus deflected them from education. Nevertheless, a definite scheme for all Scotland existed on paper, capable of application when the favourable moment should arrive. It arose in the North-East in the early part of the last century in the persons of James Dick (1743-1828) of Jamaica and Dr. Milne of Bombay, the former a native of Morayshire and the latter of Aberdeenshire.

Dick was born near Forres and, fortified by an excellent education, joined a mercantile house in Kingston, Jamaica. After twenty years he returned to Scotland with a large fortune and bequeathed £100,000 to increase the emoluments of the schoolmasters in the shires of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, provided that among other conditions they possessed a

certain standard of academic attainments. The Dick Bequest came into operation in 1833. In 1846, under similar conditions, the Milne Bequest came into operation but with this important difference, that its incidence was restricted to the schoolmasters of Aberdeenshire alone. The effect was immediate. The parish schools of Aberdeenshire were in the general sense probably the best paid group of folk-schools in the world, and became plums in the teaching profession. The very human result supervened that all along the boundary of Kincardineshire which did not participate in either bequest, and to a less extent the boundary of Banffshire which participated in only one, were to be found a line of schoolmasters gazing with longing eyes towards the schools situated only a mile or two away within the favoured Aberdeenshire frontier. It followed that Aberdeenshire could command in her rural schools the services of the finest, best educated and most skilful teachers of the day. A large number of them had seven years training at the University, four in Arts and three in Divinity.

There is still another dominating personality that has to be reckoned with in this assessment of cause and effect, and that is the figure of Dr. James Melvin (1794-1853), Rector of the Aberdeen Grammar School from 1826 to 1853. He was a Latin scholar of great distinction and he ruled the Grammar School with no uncertain hand. The boys called him 'Old Grim.' Before his time, there had grown up throughout the centuries a well-defined method of intellectual discipline taking the form of the construction of 'Versions,' or the turning of passages of selected English prose into the Latin tongue. The Town Council, in consultation with the city Fathers of the Kirk, had decreed that for six days in the week the Grammar School boys should exercise themselves on themes dealing with Cicero and Caesar; but the Sabbath day was not to be wantonly wasted, and hence on that day the version manufacture must continue sedulously; nevertheless industry must be combined with godliness, and the Lord's Day themes were restricted to the doings of Peter, Paul and Judas Iscariot. Melvin inherited this tradition and brought it to a mechanical perfection. His object *par excellence* was to drill his boys in the construction of versions composed in the accurate and idiomatic Latin of the Golden Age. He divided the errors in Latinity that might arise into 'Minies, Medies, and Maxies,' and for five hours every day he exercised his boys in this linguistic drilling. To a boy who wrote 'ut fecit' instead of 'ut faceret' he shook his head sorrowfully and

said, "Johnnie, you've been giddy of late." He was all for Cicero, and there is a tradition in the Grammar School that a boy used a word in his version that had not Cicero's authority behind it. Upon being taxed by Melvin for his laxity, the boy pleaded in extenuation, "But, Sir, I found the word in Livy." Old Grim looked at him sternly but not unkindly and said in the native vernacular, "Wullie, dinna ye eemitate Leevy's mistaks." In addition to his duties as Rector of the Grammar School, Melvin was for some ten years Lecturer in Humanity (i.e. Latin) at Marischal College till the establishment of a Chair in 1839. It thus came about that the schoolmasters of the North-East were largely Melvin's pupils either at school or at college or at both, and they had imbibed to the full his masterful outlook on Latin scholarship.

Little further comment or explanation is needed upon the development of meticulous verbal Latin scholarship for well over a century throughout the most remote rural districts, whether in the Low-country regions or the Highland glens of the North-East. The culmination of this wholesale scholastic drilling in the towns, villages and country regions of the North-East and to a less extent in the Highland parishes of the North-West was the congregation every year in the examination halls of the two Universities of Aberdeen of numerous boys from the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Kincardine, Angus, Inverness, Ross, the outer Isles of Lewis, North Uist; and more rarely from the other counties of Scotland and even from England, to sit the 'Comp' or annual Bursary Competition. The training had, however, been severest in the Dick and Milne Bequest area. The excitement and strain was therefore greatest among the candidates from these regions. Subjected incessantly throughout their boyhood to all the stimulation afforded by the Aberdeenshire educational machinery of minatory exhortations in the Doric, Tags and Queelin Steens, they at length presented themselves to have the fruits of this discipline numerically assessed in an order of merit. No questions were asked of the candidates as to their social origin or method of training. The sole test imposed was that they should render a piece of set English prose into Latin, and he that did this 'version' best was declared to be the First Bursar of the year, the others being graded in order of merit. The candidate might be the son of

> A laird, a lord, a cooper, a cyard,
> A rich man, a peer man, a hangman, a thief.

Before the days of the train, they came by carrier's spring-cart or fishing-boat, or they got casual lifts in divers types of 'machine' by the way. It is on record that one candidate of diminutive stature trudged all the way on foot from his native upland parish with his big Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary strapped securely to his back. Another, who afterwards became a distinguished classical scholar, arrived on foot in moleskin breeks, the feet tied round with 'strae-rapes' to keep out the rain or 'snaa-bree' as the weather might decide. All through the forenoon, they toiled in the examination hall over their 'versions' and at midday the sacrist came round with a service of 'baps' in a basket. As the gloaming fell and the light grew dim, the sacrist came round again with lumps of clay into which were stuck lighted candles. The First Bursar, on his return home, was usually accorded a public welcome in his native place and the Kirk bell was rung. Frequently, the Second Bursar received but little ovation, and indeed was considered to have somewhat discredited his parish, kith and kin, by allowing himself to be beaten. Such were the rigorous standards imposed by public opinion in the North-East.

Given these circumstances, the natural results followed. In a countryside where there were no industries save agriculture and fishing, the Parish School and the Parish Kirk did not always afford sufficient scope as careers for the abler and more ambitious 'lads o' pairts.' Hence, a constant and copious stream of classical scholars continued to pour forth from the University and to make their way to the arenas of the South, ultimately to fill university chairs all the world over, or to make good in some other walk of life denied to those who stayed at home. Looking back over the centuries, one sees a long line of ghostly figures all mighty in the Humanities in their day and generation. Among the earliest was John Vaus, the first Humanist at King's College and the founder of that school of Latin grammatical studies which was afterwards to bear such copious fruit. In 1522 he embarked on the stormy North Sea en route for Paris, taking the precious manuscript of his Latin Grammar with him, there to get it printed. There is a copy in the Library of King's College bearing the date 1553. Arthur Johnston (1587-1641) was Rector of King's College and rivalled George Buchanan as a writer of Latin verse. Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757) left his father's croft in Boyndie, Banffshire, without his parents' knowledge and consent. As was customary in those times, a divine

judgment befel him for this breach of the fifth commandment in that a group of tinklers set upon him while he was proceeding afoot on his journey and robbed him of such pecuniary assets as he possessed. Undeterred, he plodded on his way to King's College and ultimately gave to the world Ruddiman's Rudiments of the Latin tongue, which was a standard text-book among our fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers for many a long day. He was schoolmaster at Laurencekirk and thereafter became librarian at the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. The redoubtable Doctor Johnson thought well of his scholarship and directed that a copy of the Rambler be sent to Ruddiman, "of whom I hear that his learning is not his highest excellence." In 1773 the Doctor and Boswell, when on their Scottish tour, visited Laurencekirk and "respectfully remembered that excellent man and eminent scholar." After these encomiums pronounced from such exalted sources, *requiescat in pace.* These are only a few samples taken at random. In more modern times, one thinks of one, than whom there was no more characteristic product of the North-East, the distinguished scholar Peter Giles (1860-1935), of Strichen, Aberdeen and Cambridge. Born and bred in Buchan, and possessed of great idiomatic fluency and profound philological knowledge in his native Doric, he had an inherited interest in the Gaelic through his grandmother, a Highland woman from Ballindalloch in Banffshire, who had to acquire 'the English' after she settled in Buchan. This natural inherited background, combined with his classical training at the Strichen School and in the Universities of Aberdeen, Cambridge and Germany, gave him that broad outlook on languages, their history and structure that made him later on one of the most influential figures in this country in the development of philological studies. Apart from these more recondite pursuits his interest in the details of history and historical personages appeared at once universal and insatiable. How many people other than Peter Giles would have remarked casually during a country walk that the sister of Clementina Walkinshaw, Prince Charlie's mistress, was the housekeeper at Windsor ? Another Aberdeenshire scholar of remarkable literary taste and feeling was Giles's contemporary and linguistic colleague, Robert A. Neil (1852-1901), born and bred in Glengairn, in which lovely Highland glen his father was for some half a century the parish minister. Yet another was John Strachan (1862-1907), at once Professor of Greek at Manchester and one of the most eminent Celtic scholars of his

day. Two distinguished classical scholars, who were not only natives of the North-East but spent their lives there, were William Duguid Geddes (1828-1900), better known to Aberdeen graduates as 'Old Homer,' and his contemporary James Moir, Rector of the Aberdeen Grammar School. They were age-long irreconcilable public controversialists on the burning question of the negative imperative in Latin. In addition to the classics, James Moir took a profound interest in vernacular studies and issued an edition of Blind Harry's 'Wallace,' which has won the gratitude and appreciation of English scholars.

There is one name of a totally different type which deserves more than a passing mention and which would be certain to arouse controversy in any discussion anent his contribution to the development of scholarship in the North-East. The name is that of John Stuart Blackie (1809-1895). Much stress is usually laid on his boisterous eccentricities, on his plaid flamboyantly worn in the streets of Edinburgh and on his 'classes-lasses-asses' powers of repartee, but this is not the conclusion of the whole matter. He was elected Professor of Latin at Marischal College in Aberdeen in 1839, when the great and meticulously accurate Latin scholar, Dr. James Melvin, was passed over. This was considered at that time a great tragedy in the development of classical scholarship in the North-East by many persons capable of passing a considered judgment, and similar views have been held fairly generally by more recent critics of educational progress. A local print of the period described Blackie as "a boy in common sense, a very child in talents, a very infant in the classics." Blackie could, of course, lay no claim to profound accurate learning in the Latin tongue comparable with that of Melvin, but the passage of time has shown that there is another side to the picture. Blackie was born in Glasgow, the son of a banker, and came young to Aberdeen, where he received his school and college education. He had the inestimable advantage in later life of being unable after leaving the University to make up his mind as to what his precise job should be and he was equally fortunate in having parents who could finance the luxury of indecision. He travelled during this period extensively on the Continent and got to know in their native environment foreign languages and foreign literatures. He thought of the ministry as a career but developed religious doubts. These he communicated on one occasion in Rome to the great German scholar Bunsen, who met his theological

difficulties by telling him that "the duration of other people's damnation was not his business." He next thought of the law and became an advocate, but this too proved distasteful. He found his true function in life as a university teacher. Blackie was therefore by environment, school and university education (though not by birth) a true product of the gerund-grinding North-East, but his later studies on the Continent led him to form ideas as to the true function of a classical education very different from those held in the Aberdeen of his day. He was by nature at once an iconoclast and a widener in his vocation as a university teacher. In his opening lecture at Marischal College, he announced that his object was to "awaken wide human sympathies and to enlarge the field of vision." By precept and example in Aberdeen, and later on while holding the Chair of Greek in Edinburgh, he emphasised that classical studies did not consist solely in the minutiæ of grammar and syntax, but that there was a literature, history, and human spirit behind the printed word. He refused to regard Greek as a dead language. He maintained that it was a living tongue, which he had heard regularly spoken in his visits to Greece, and he taught his students accordingly. He also preached in season and out of season that the Gaelic language is akin in origin and structure to the classical tongues, and that a knowledge of it is requisite for a complete understanding of the language, history and social background of our native Scotland. He translated many of the Gaelic songs into English poetry and was the prime mover in gathering funds towards the founding of the Chair in Celtic in Edinburgh University. Who will venture to deny that Blackie's contribution to the development of classical scholarship in the North-East was wholesomely corrective if not strictly orthodox? The shrewd testimony of John Grant Michie in this connexion is valuable; he was a pupil of both Melvin and Blackie. Michie has said:—

"I am not to attempt to describe Dr. Melvin—that has been often attempted by very able pens, but never, in my opinion, with complete success. Suffice it to say that I regarded him with mingled feelings of awe, respect, affection and fear. No teacher I ever had, and no man I ever knew, made so deep an impression on me: I believe quite as much by the high moral tone of his character as from my admiration of his learning."

Michie writes also concerning Blackie, the Professor of Humanity: "Under him we read a good deal in various authors. It was, however, not Latin

that we were principally taught, but a kind of universal literature interspersed with racy criticisms and eloquent recitations from the chair, which kept us spell-bound during the hour of our attendance. We thought him at times a little eccentric, but we all loved him. He was also a poet in his own way, and by offering rewards for compositions in verse on some subject or event of which he had been reading, he sought to infuse some of his own talent into us. I earned one of these rewards. He had a wonderful power of rivetting our attention, and never required to exercise discipline by fine or otherwise, and was always in good humour and high spirits. Such was John Stuart Blackie—afterwards Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh—a man well known in the literary world, genial and amiable, a Scotsman to the very core, and latterly even a Highlander in spirit if not also in language, and the founder of the Celtic Chair in the Metropolitan University."

There is little doubt where the Highland boy who began life by floating logs in the turbulent and icy Dee and who was afterwards to write 'Deeside Tales, or Men and Manners on Highland Deeside since 1745,' first got his literary training and inspiration.

In 1893, a young Englishman, Henry Fife Morland Simpson, arrived in Aberdeen to take charge of its old and famous Grammar School. He was a native of Northumberland, was educated at Oundle School and was a graduate of Cambridge. For some years he taught at Fettes College, Edinburgh, a school situated on Scottish soil but not of the John Knox tradition. It is highly probable that when a sufficiency of time has elapsed to allow of a true perspective being reached, Morland Simpson will be regarded as one of the great Rectors of the school. Previous to his arrival in Aberdeen, he had had no direct experience of Scottish education as understood in the sense of its great national traditions, but he was no south-country Englishman in origin and texture, and was very much akin to the Scot in his imaginative and somewhat romantic outlook on life. He was reared in the land of the Moss-Troopers and Peel-Towers and was wont to quote Graham's Dyke. He knew in his bones what was meant by "The Elliots are ridin' the nicht." He was a classical scholar by training, an antiquarian by nature, and he edited 'The Deeds of Montrose.' He was not antipathetic to Scottish tradition but brought his English experience to cross-fertilise it in the realm of education. He was therefore by temperament

particularly well fitted to effect a radical change in the educational outlook of the Grammar School directly, and indirectly through the medium of his old pupils on school education in the North-East generally. In the class-room his personality, quite unbeknown to himself, breathed forth instinctively the indefinable qualities of culture and distinction. He refused to be ironbound by the 'Comp.' He saw that if boys were well-taught daily-day, they would do well at the annual gladiatorial exhibition incidentally. He emphasised the literary character of the Latin texts being studied, and pointed out their charm of expression as he went along. He told his boys about the history of Rome and Greece. He revealed the pageantry of Scotland to her own sons. He told them of the romantic history of their own school and the relationship of some of its greater pupils to national and world events. He defied the godly and, after many adventures, got a statue erected to Byron in front of the poet's old school. He preached '*mens sana in corpore sano*' and encouraged games and healthy outdoor sports. He raised opposition to his improvements in the educational outlook of the North-East and was healthily untactful in pushing his objects through, but he stuck to his guns and to-day his old pupils rise up and call him blessed, as they put the ideals they learned from him at school to practical test in the wider arenas of the world. Morland Simpson unquestionably made an indelible impression by his work as a widener on the texture of scholarship and school-education in the North-East, and he did much to shatter 'Comp.' worship and the idolisation of Latin in the narrow and pedantic sense.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

In a mediæval university, Divinity has always held an honoured place, and Aberdeen was no exception. Unlike the south and south-west of Scotland, the Episcopalians were both numerous and powerful in the North-East, and they had their effect upon their neighbours the Presbyterians. The North-East was not so austere and bleak in its outlook on life as the south, and viewed our earthly pilgrimage here below from a more genial standpoint. The great home-brewed philosopher, Dr. Thomas Reid (1710-1794), the son of the minister of Strachan in Kincardineshire, encouraged dancing among the students at King's College, Old Aberdeen, while he held office

as Regent there. These dances were neither profane nor promiscuous, and might have merited at least the qualified approval of Douce Davie Deans, inasmuch as they were fundamentally 'ram reels,' female partners being prohibited and male student grasping male student as they executed 'hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys and reels'—exercises which the worthy philosopher described "as giving graceful motions, and above all manliness and confidence." Armed with tackety boots and coming, as the students mostly did, from farms, crofts, villages and rural townships, there can be little doubt as to the 'manliness and confidence' displayed, but as to the 'graceful motions,' anyone who has been privileged to witness these evolutions being executed at a Buchan 'Meal-and-Ale' is in a position to form his own judgment. The learned, witty and genial Episcopal minister of Longside, John Skinner (1721-1807), who wrote an Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, 'Tullochgorum,' 'The Ewie wi' the crookit horn' and other ditties in graceful Latin and Aberdeenshire Doric, himself did not disdain to 'rise and shak a fit' at a dance in a parishioner's barn. To the farmer's wife who came through to her 'best room' to receive him on a parochial visit with the guarded hospitality of "Wull ye tak' a drink o' milk, sir, or wull ye tak' a dram?" he replied, "Commen' me tae the wife that comes ben wi' the bottle in her han'." When Burns passed through Aberdeen, he happened to meet on the staircase of a printing office the Bishop of Aberdeen, John Skinner (1744-1816), the son of the John Skinner just mentioned, or 'Aal' Tillygorum' as he is usually called in Aberdeenshire, after the name of his song 'Tullochgorum.' Burns's companion, Mr. Chalmers the printer, introduced the poet to the Bishop, who did not hold out a freezing episcopal handshake to Burns but grasped him warmly by the hand. The threesome retired to a neighbouring inn to have a dram on the subject, and the Bishop wrote his father as a result of this informal interview one of the most important character sketches of Burns that exist, setting him forth in a most favourable light as a very intelligent man, of excellent manners and address, a great connoisseur of Scottish literature, an ardent collector of 'auld Scots sangs' and a profound admirer of 'Tillygorum's' poetry. There is little doubt that Burns would have found a more congenial atmosphere for his temperament in the genial, easy-going, pawky North-East than in the more austere, 'spiritual' and Whiggish South-West where his lot was cast.

This somewhat free-and-easy spiritual outlook was not confined wholly to Aberdeenshire but appears to have been rife also in the adjacent county of Banff. Not only were the Episcopalians affected but the Roman Catholics as well. The learned and witty Roman Catholic priest of the Enzie, Dr. Alexander Geddes (1737-1802), must certainly be accounted one of the important Biblical scholars of his day and generation in the Catholic Church. He was a native of the Enzie district of Banffshire and was educated on the Continent. He was offered a post in the University of Paris, and the University of Aberdeen conferred on him its doctorate in recognition of his contributions to learning and scholarship. He returned as priest to the Enzie. What is absolutely certain is that he did not regard his erring flock in the Enzie primarily as an aggregation of 'miserable sinners' (to quote the oft-repeated words of the Litany). He united the Presbyterians and Catholics of the district by scoffing openly at beads, images, crucifixes, etc., and worse still, he consorted freely with heretics and even went so far as to incur the wrath and censure of his bishop by attending the delivery of a heretical sermon by the parish kirk minister of Banff. He did not confine his literary output to theological disquisitions but amongst other things has set down in imperishable verse the adventures of that wee bit wifockie that wis dyaan fae the fair, where she'd gott'n that wee bit drappockie whose aftermath was to cost her sae muckle care, and it becomes abundantly evident as the theme develops that the author was filled with whole-hearted sympathy for the sinner, rather than with heartfelt disapproval of the degrading and unseemly character of her exploits. The following three verses are set down as they used to be recited in Easter Buchan half a century ago.

There wis a wee bit wifockie wis dyaan fae the fair,
An' she'd gott'n a wee bit drappockie that cost her muckle care;
It ceest aboot the wifie's hert, ur she begoot tae spew,
Oh, quo' the wee wifockie, A wuss A binna fou.
    A wuss A binna fou, quo' she, A wuss A binna fou.
    Oh, quo' the wee wifockie, A wuss A binna fou.

Gin Johnnie fin' ma barley-sick, A fear he'll claa ma skin,
Sae I'se sit doon an' tak' a nap afore 'at I dyang in.
Sae it's sittin' at 'e dykeside, takin' at a nap,
By cam a merchan'ie wi a little pack.
    Wi a little pack, quo' she, wi a little pack,
    By cam a merchan'ie wi a little pack.

He's clippit a' her gowden locks, sae gowden an' sae lang,
He's teen her purse an' a' her placks, an' fast awa he's ran.
An' fin 'e wifie waakent, her heid wis like a flee,
Oh, quo' the wee wifockie, this is nae me.
This is nae me, quo' she, this is nae me.
Oh, quo' the wee wifockie, this is nae me.

The misunderstanding which arose when ultimately she presented herself at home before her husband and children occupy the remaining portion of this far from elevating narrative. Small wonder then is it that the French priest who shrove Alexander Geddes the day before his death should have left it on record that he found it impossible to appraise with certitude his exact spiritual condition.

It is not surprising, therefore, in view of this tradition, that South Scotland viewed the North-East as a land peopled with a lukewarm and backsliding race of gospel professors. The National Covenant was drawn up and widely signed in 1638. There was no organised opposition anywhere in Scotland except at Aberdeen. The Covenanters were so distressed over the unregenerate condition of the North-East that they sent a strong deputation under Montrose to reason with the Aberdonians and bring them to a more godly frame of mind. The uncovenanted Aberdonians according to their hospitable custom proffered their visitors a draught from the cup of Bon-Accord which was 'disdainfully refused.' The altruistic efforts of the southerners were far from successful. They received passive resistance from the local ministers. Still more devastating was a 'reasoned exposition' of the whole position from the 'Aberdeen Doctors': John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity at King's College; Robert Baron, Professor of Divinity at Marischal College; Alexander Scroggie, minister of St. Machar's Cathedral; William Leslie, Principal of King's College; James Sibbald and Alexander Ross, ministers in New Aberdeen. Things were very disturbed in the North-East for some years and Covenanting soldiers were stationed throughout this region on the outlook for recalcitrants. In the manse at Drumoak on Deeside, honest John Gregory (1598-1653), who combined his ministerial duties with a canny deal in money-lending among the north-country lairds, was pulled out of his 'naikit' bed on a mirk night by a band of God-fearing Covenanting soldiers in 1640 and ordered to pay a fine for his back-slidings and to go to prison for a period of repent-

ance and meditation. This treatment did not prevent him, however, from being the progenitor of the 'Academic Gregories' and some 200 descendants whose intellectual qualities range from the highest competence to unquestionable eminence. With such a theological history and background, it cannot be wondered at that Aberdeenshire lads o' pairts in later days, after their preliminary nurture on the 'lickin' verbs' and the other intricacies of Latin syntax, should take to the minutiæ of Hebrew scholarship as ducks to water, and after a preliminary period of pow-waggin' should ultimately 'haad sooth' and occupy Hebrew Chairs in English theological colleges. So prevalent had this practice become that an English Professor of Systematic Theology declared that he was unavoidably forced to the conclusion from contact with his Hebrew colleagues in the English Theological colleges that the prophets of the Old Testament must have thundered forth their Hebrew declamations in the Aberdeenshire accent. Among such men are to be reckoned 'Rabbi' John Duncan (1796-1870), Andrew Bruce Davidson (1831-1902), Aberdonians both, who held Edinburgh Chairs in Hebrew. There was a poor turner named Nicol, belonging to the Episcopalian congregation at Monymusk at the beginning of the 1800's 'who read Hebrew without the points,' and his brother Alexander Nicol, after a distinguished career at Marischal College, made his way to Oxford, by Bishop Skinner's influence, where he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in 1822. So erudite in languages was he that it was said of him that "he could speak his way from Oxford to the Great Wall of China." Greatest of all, however, was William Robertson Smith (1846-1894), the distinguished Biblical and Arabic scholar, whose father had left the headmastership of a prosperous school in Aberdeen to be the first Free Kirk minister of Keig. There was the eminent scholar born in a period of blinding snowstorms which delayed his christening. It was to be symbolic of the stormy character of his later career. Evicted from a comfortable Hebrew professorship in the Free Kirk College at 'Baabie Laa,' Aberdeen, on a charge of heresy, he found no rest for the sole of his foot until he was appointed Professor of Arabic at Cambridge at a salary of £50 a year, the duties being one lecture per annum. Robertson Smith stands in the front rank of Biblical scholars. He had extremely wide interests in languages, chiefly Hebrew and Arabic. He was deeply versed in the historical aspect of his studies and he travelled much in Egypt and Palestine,

thus getting a first-hand knowledge of the geographical aspect of his chosen field. The old combative spirit of the 'Aberdeen Doctors' was by no means dead in Robertson Smith. He came back on one occasion straight from Egypt to London while the case of heresy was being tried against him, full of health and spirits and ready to slay the Amalekites. He wrote of himself as being "so strong that if my case were decided by a physical contest, I could give a good account of my adversaries."

In the realm of Church politics, Bishop John Skinner (1744-1816) made noteworthy contributions. His father was John Skinner of Linshart, the 'Tillygorum' of the songs (1721-1807). The latter was born in Birse, where his father was schoolmaster. His mother was Mrs. Donald Farquharson, the widow of the Laird of Balfour, whom his father had married after the death of her first husband. His father received in due course the more lucrative schoolmastership of Echt and moved his habitation to Bowie Lum, the stance of which is still pointed out at Echt. There was 'Tillygorum' reared until he went to the Grammar School and Marischal College. He became teacher at Kemnay and thereafter at Monymusk, where he wrote his poem of the 'Christmas Ba'in' in imitation of King James I's 'Chryste Kirk on the Green.' Monymusk was a stronghold of the Episcopalians and young Skinner left the Presbyterian fold to join this body. He surrendered simultaneously his prospects as a parish schoolmaster leading to the pulpit of a parish kirk. This led to his becoming a tutor in Shetland, where he married Grissel Hunter, the eldest daughter of the Rev. John Hunter of Lerwick, then the only Episcopal clergyman in the Shetland Isles. He returned to Aberdeenshire to provide a 'dookit for his doo' and studied theology at Old Meldrum, where he hired a room and collected his own meal and 'row't his ain peats.' After qualifying for his orders in the Episcopal Church, he was settled as the Episcopal minister of Longside and took the farmhouse of Linshart as his Episcopal manse, a building shaped like the letter 'L,' in the angle of which he preached to his stricken flock exposed to the rain and snow when the Episcopalian services were everywhere forbidden by law after the rebellion of the '45. There with his faithful Grissel, the staunch companion of all his hardships, he spent a busy, happy, long and often tempestuous ministry, covering a period of sixty-five years. When Mr. Ferguson, the laird of Pitfour, wrote him in his old age offering to do something to add to his comfort, he, answering in a

rhyming epistle, said that he had all he really wanted and ended with the two lines :

> And lay my ashes in my Grizzel's grave,
> 'Tis all I want or wish on earth to have.

After Prince Charlie's efforts had been crushed at Culloden, the Episcopalians as a body were more than suspect of adherence to the old House of Stuart. The countryside was ransacked for possible sympathisers with the exiled dynasty, and during these wholesale visitations 'Tillygorum's' manse was plundered by the military in the silence and darkness of night, while his wife was lying-in of her fifth child, and his chapel was burned down. "Haad in the prayer-books" cried an anti-Episcopalian lady of condition of the neighbourhood who had come to enjoy the spectacle as the flames shot up. In Linshart manse was the future Bishop born. There was he bred in the thick of the troubles, when vengeful bands of Government soldiers scoured the land to clear it of Jacobites, real or suspected. When a boy of eight years of age, his father was haled off to prison in Old Aberdeen, and the little fellow insisted on sharing his imprisonment with him. At Linshart, 'Tillygorum', on his son's suggestion, wrote his 'Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,' ranging from earliest times to 1788, the year of the death of Prince Charlie, after which fear of another insurrection supported by the Episcopalians began to die down. The most valuable part of this History is the record of events in the century 1688-1788, most of which the author knew at first hand and in much of which he had himself been an active and suffering participator.

Young John Skinner, born at Linshart, educated at the parish school of Longside and thereafter under his grandfather at the Bowie Lum of Echt, and at the Grammar School of Aberdeen, graduated at Marischal College. After a period as Episcopal minister at Ellon, he was appointed coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen and assisted the good Bishop Robert Kilgour in consecrating the American Samuel Seabury as a bishop of the Episcopal Church of America, at a period when the Church of England found herself unable to consent to perform this office. Thus, after protracted and difficult negotiations both in England and in Scotland, the brunt of which was borne by Bishop John Skinner, America received her Episcopal orders and owes them to a meeting in an 'upper chamber' in the Longacre of Aberdeen, 1784, regularised Episcopalian chapels being as yet prohibited by law.

Prince Charlie died in January, 1788, and 'Henry IX,' the Cardinal, was rather a vague and nebulous figure to the dwellers in the North-East. A Synod was therefore held in Longside in April of the same year, and they sat down, most probably in 'Tillygorum's' ramshackle chapel near his Linshart manse, to discuss whether they were not now free to pray for the Hanoverian King George by name throughout the Episcopal chapels in Scotland. This preliminary question raised bigger issues. The Government was asked to repeal the Penal Laws against the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Amongst other things, the Scottish Church would be required in return to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. This was a new disability. A Scottish clergyman had been accustomed to interpret theology in his own way without external interference. Even the laity both claimed and exercised the right to formulate their own religious opinions. A Longside farmer, after 'Tillygorum's' time, objected in no measured terms to the minister himself on his introducing the Athanasian Creed into the Church service, on the grounds of its being too unsound for public recitation before the congregation. To cut a long story short, however, thanks to the energy, tact and penetration of Bishop Skinner, by this time Primus of the Scottish Church, the question of the relationship of the Scotch Episcopal Church to the State on the one hand and the Church of England on the other was brought to a happy and successful conclusion. These negotiations, though national and non-local in character, owed their initiation to that Synod at Linshart in April, 1788, and belong in the main to the ecclesiastical history of the North-East.

MATHEMATICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Despite the fact that 'coontin' practically always found a definite place in the curriculum of the schools of the North-East, it cannot be said that Aberdeen developed within herself any great school of mathematical studies at any period of her history, notwithstanding the fact that such outstanding figures as Colin MacLaurin (1698-1746) and James Clerk Maxwell (1831-1879) held Chairs in Marischal College. This is partly accounted for by the fact that Colin MacLaurin disappeared to the Continent leaving no address during his tenure of the Aberdeen Chair in order to take a young nobleman round Europe on his 'Grand Tour,' and could not be traced despite the utmost efforts of the Aberdeen Senatus. Soon after his return

to Aberdeen, he found it advantageous to migrate to Edinburgh, and while holding the Chair there, he was called upon to preside over the formation of the trenches that were being dug around Edinburgh against Prince Charlie and his men. When the Highlanders broke through these defences and captured Edinburgh he had to flee to York, as he was a marked man in the eyes of the Prince's adherents, he being a Gaelic-speaking Highlandman from Argyllshire and therefore deemed a traitor to the Jacobite Cause and to his own Highland compatriots. He died the year of Culloden from the privations and exposure he had endured during and immediately after the Rebellion. James Clerk Maxwell resigned his Chair at the fusion of King's and Marischal Colleges in favour of David Thomson, the senior professor in the subject. Thus Aberdeen University lost as a resident teacher one of the greatest Natural Philosophers of all time. Such events, however interesting in themselves, do not conduce to that philosophic calm which is of the essence of mathematical study. Mathematical proclivities have, however, never been lacking among the men of the North-East, though in the main they have had to be developed elsewhere. It is most probable that no great mathematical figure happened to arise and spend his lifetime there, so as to take the lead in the establishment of a great school of mathematical studies. Nevertheless, Aberdeen did produce one of the world's greater mathematicians in the person of James Gregory (1638-1675), the son of the Drumoak parson, John Gregory above-mentioned.* Born in the manse of Drumoak, educated at the Aberdeen Grammar School and Marischal College, he studied in Italy and subsequently held professorships in St. Andrews and Edinburgh. He has long been recognised as one of the world's greater mathematicians, deviser of the Gregorian Telescope and a master of analytical processes, but the present occupant of his Chair in St. Andrews, Professor H. W. Turnbull, F.R.S., has shown in the last few years as the result of much fruitful and painstaking search that James Gregory has as much claim to be considered one of the co-inventors of the Calculus as Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) or the German Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716). Some thirty or forty years ago, Turnbull's predecessor, Professor Peter Scott Lang, suddenly laid down on the counter of St. Andrews University Library a bundle of old letters. These were duly labelled and docketed by the Library authorities and lay untouched on their

* See Vol. XVI, Part I of the Transactions on the Family of Gregory by Walter A. Humphries, M.A.

James Gregorie

shelves. Where these letters came from cannot now be ascertained, as Professor Scott Lang and the members of his family have all passed away. These letters consisted of correspondence, backwards and forwards, between Gregory and members of the Royal Society, together with scribbled mathematical work of his own often done on the backs of old letters. From this source, Professor Turnbull was able to make his historical discovery. So revolutionary were Gregory's discoveries considered at the time that some of his fellow professors in St. Andrews requested their students to make a noise in the common lecture-room which they simultaneously shared, so that Gregory might not be able to corrupt the minds of the youth committed to his charge with his dangerous and subversive doctrines. Nevertheless, although Gregory was lost as a permanent resident professor in Aberdeen, she never lost sight of her distinguished son. When he set on foot his project for establishing an Astronomical Observatory in St. Andrews, the authorities of St. Andrews dispatched him to London for the purchase of suitable 'astronomical utensils,' but in his search for funds Gregory's mind went back to his own fatherland, and an effective and immediate response he got, for the 'Toon Cooncil' of Aberdeen ordered on the spot a collection to be taken at the 'Kirk Dores,' one of the grounds of this outburst of generosity being stated definitely in the burgh records as that "the said professor was ane town's man heir (here)." Thus the North-East owes it to the Yorkshireman H. W. Turnbull to discover that the gift of the Calculus to mankind was made (in the very respectable co-partnership of Newton and Leibniz) by a man from Aberdeen and her 'twal mile roon.'

Coming to more modern times, the soil of Aberdeenshire has produced more Senior Wranglers in actual numbers than any English or other Scottish county. Their names are Thomas Barker from Murcar near Aberdeen (1838-1907), Charles Niven from Peterhead (1845-1923), George Middleton Slesser from Milton of Gaval near Fetterangus (1834-1862), James Stirling from Aberdeen itself (1836-1916). They all rose to high office in later life.

MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIP

There existed a 'mediciner' or professor of medicine from the very commencement of King's College, and he was the first officer of his kind in Great Britain. The instruction given at first was probably based upon the Greek writings of Aristotle and Galen but was modified as time went

on. The mediciner had no routine duties as had the ordinary 'regents.' He was largely left to interpret the duties of his office as he deemed fit, and the result was great diversity and divergence in the quality of the instruction given. At times the mediciner interpreted his duties as having sunk to the vanishing point. At other times, he filled the office vigorously and with distinction. It is impossible to deal with the various holders of the office, but the work of the Gregories is so noteworthy that a special monograph has been written by Mr. W. A. Humphries, already referred to.

A certain MacGregor left Glenlyon towards the end of the fourteen hundreds or beginning of the fifteen hundreds and married the daughter of the Laird of Findlater. Having left the Highlands, the family left the name of MacGhriogair or MacGregor behind them and adopted the cannier Low-country name of Gregorie or Gregory, though this was merely camouflage, because throughout their long history they were prone to settle their disputes as MacGregors and not as Gregories. From the union of the MacGregor of Glenlyon with the daughter of the house of Findlater came a son Gregory, who became factor to the lands of Udny. His son was a master-saddler in the city of Aberdeen, and the saddler's son John received a higher education and became the minister of Drumoak, who has already been discussed. From his loins sprang in direct descent such varied characters as the 'Academic Gregories,' Dr. Thomas Reid the philosopher, Dame Lumsden, the distinguished headmistress of St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews, and others whose name and endowments are legion, covering a period of over 300 years of distinction and apparently unquenchable vitality. But to return to the Aberdeen school of medicine. After the death of James Gregory the famous mathematician, his widow returned from Edinburgh to the land of her origin, Aberdeen, along with her young family. Her son James (1674-1733) was educated in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and on the Continent. He was appointed mediciner in King's College and lived a placid life there in a delightful manse surrounded by a herb garden. Nothing, not even lectures to students, appeared to disturb the even tenor of his way except on two occasions when his famous kinsman Rob Roy MacGregor paid Aberdeen two visits and stayed with the professor as his guest. On the first occasion Rob saw James, the little son of his host, playing about and being educated for the ultimate profession of a doctor. Filled with indignation that the boy was destined for such an effeminate

and inglorious mode of life, the cateran offered to take little James along with him and "mak' a man o' him" as a freebooter. It was with difficulty that the father managed to plead delicateness of constitution as an excuse for not being able to stand Highland winters. On the occasion of his next visit to Aberdeen, Rob Roy and the professor were walking arm-in-arm on the Castlegate, when suddenly the drums began to beat and the soldiers to come out from the barracks. Rob knew more about procedure under these circumstances than about the modes of academic Senates. Hardly saying even a hasty farewell, he was up a side close before the professor could collect his wits. The little James (1707-1755) succeeded his father as mediciner and never fulfilled his destiny as a Highland cateran. Neither father nor son were very distinguished. They do not appear to have delivered lectures but they duly discharged their main function, which was to bestow the University degree of M.D. upon suitable persons. The following extract from the Records of King's College will illustrate the kindly and understanding spirit that animated university examiners in those days:—

"8th September, 1701.

"Mr. George Cheyne allowed to be graduat doctor in medicine *gratis*, because he's not onely our owne countryman, and at present not rich, but is recommended by the ablest and most learned physitians in Edinburgh as one of the best mathematicians in Europe; and for his skill in medicine he hath given a sufficient indication of that by his learned tractat de Febribus, which hath made him famous abroad as well as at home; and he being just now goeing to England upon invitation of some of the members of the Royal Society."

The last-named mediciner was succeeded by his half-brother, John Gregory (1724-1773). He was born and bred in Aberdeen, educated in Arts at King's College and in Medicine at Edinburgh and on the Continent. Like so many of the Gregories, he had had the advantage of a wide education, covering many subjects and acquired in many lands. He was a man of great ability and diverse talents, but he entered Medicine before it had become much more than a collection of rule-of-thumb nostrums. His contributions to the subject were therefore more in the direction of what would be called nowadays 'Public Health' than in the detailed scientific study of disease. He sternly forbade the use of the icy morning bath for

children. It had long been the custom in the Highlands to immerse the newly-born babe in a mixture of ice-and-water. Miss Grant in her "Memoirs of a Highland Lady" thus describes her own early days (1806):—

"A large long tub stood in the kitchen-court, the ice on the top of which had often to be broken before our horrid plunge into it; we were brought down from the very top of the house, four pair of stairs, with only a cotton cloak over our nightgowns, just to chill us completely before the dreadful shock. How I screamed, begged, prayed, entreated to be saved, half the tender-hearted maids in tears beside me, all no use, Millar had her orders."

Gregory's injunctions to keep children warm must have come like a voice from Heaven, but it was long before it reached from King's College to far Aviemore, Badenoch and Lochaber.

James Gregory (1674-1733) had married a daughter of Sir John Forbes of Monymusk, and John Gregory fell in love with the Hon. Elizabeth Forbes, a daughter of William, Lord Forbes. These unions are typified by the fact that Fyvie Castle contains several old paintings of the Gregories. "What do you propose to keep her on?" said the old lord. Doctor John Gregory produced his lancet as his kinsman Rob Roy might have produced his dirk.

One of their children was James Gregory (1753-1821), Professor of Medicine in Edinburgh, a genuine Aberdeen product. He experimented, grew rhubarb in the back-garden of his Edinburgh home, and laid the whole human race under obligation to his genius by inventing Gregory's Powder (Mixture). His personal education followed the Aberdeen and Gregory tradition of technical or applied science instruction upon an intensively tilled Arts background. He was educated in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Oxford and on the Continent. His Latinity was so excellent that his treatises on Medicine were used both as sources of information in the science of healing and texts for the study of the Latin tongue. He was a brilliant lecturer and had a savage temper. He had no time to argue out a point with his medical colleague Professor Hamilton, but shortened the discussion by laying out his adversary in the Edinburgh college quadrangle with his walking-stick. Upon being made to pay £100 damages in the Law Courts for this summary procedure, he said as he paid his fine that he would willingly pay double for

another chance to do the same. The Gregories were still MacGregors. He had to give evidence for insanity in a court of law, and had to admit that the man under trial could play an excellent game of whist. Said the counsel, "And how, Doctor, can a man be deranged and yet play well a game so difficult?" Replied the Doctor, "Was not the game invented to amuse an insane king?" Gregory won his case. It fell to his lot to attend Robert Burns during his illness in Edinburgh. He sat by the bedside of the poet and administered Gregory's Mixture for the cure of his body, while at the same time he wrote out prescriptions (still extant) for the composition of true and finished poetry. Burns cried out in his anguish, "Dr. Gregory is a good man, but he crucifies me"; and again, "I believe in the iron justice of Dr. Gregory, but like the devils I believe and tremble." In his far away Aberdeen infancy the child proved the father of the man. His mother, daughter of the great Aberdeenshire House of Forbes, had dressed him in white for a party and went to complete her own toilet. During the interval, young James escaped to the street and joined other boys in damming the water that poured along the outside gutter. The surging waters were about to burst their earthen rampart when suddenly young Gregory proved equal to the occasion, planted his person, white breeks and all, athwart the current and cried "Mair dubs, laadies, mair dubs." His mother was the sudden witness of a sartorial tragedy she was powerless to prevent.

The last Gregory to hold the office of mediciner in King's College was William Gregory (1803-1858), the son of the above James Gregory. He was an able physician and teacher, particularly on the chemical side, and a good linguist.

Throughout the Gregory period, however, curative processes were largely speculative and rule-of-thumb, or proceeded by haphazard trial-and-error methods based upon no scientific principles. In the early seventeen-hundreds, Professor Alston taught his Edinburgh students as follows :—

" Earthworms, large and fat ones especially, should be dried and used in cases of jaundice and gout: the juice of slaters passed through a muslin bag is recommended for cancer, convulsions and headache."

It is obvious, therefore, that the study of anatomy grew of the highest importance, as the researches in this branch of medical science

were definite and the results discovered could be relied upon. The provision of 'subjects' or human bodies for dissection became therefore of prime consideration, and as no law of the realm existed whereby they could be procured in a legal manner, the professors of medicine had to rely on private enterprise and so obtain them as best they might. In the south of Scotland, they were usually provided by professional resurrectionists, of whom Burke and Hare were notable examples. In Aberdeen, the 'body-snatching' was usually carried out by the anatomists themselves or their students, working in the dead of night; and many a poor soul in the North-East, who at mid-day had been consigned to the infinite mercy of God by the parish minister amidst a group of sorrowing mourners, would have heard twelve hours later, had he still possessed his sentient powers, an ominous 'chap-chap-chappin' on the hard frozen ground above him, as the 'pick' performed its office, and he would have realised that there was still one service which his miserable tenement of clay could render to suffering humanity before he entered undisturbed upon his long last sleep. There is a tradition of a worthy soul making his way homeward in the small hours and finding, like Neil Gow the fiddler under similar conditions, that the "linth o' the road wis naething tae the bree'th o't," who beheld a spring-cart proceeding vigorously along the frost-bound road to Aberdeen in the clear moonlight. The driver showed himself a fine upstanding personality, but beside him sat a 'crulged up' figure inertly swaying backwards and forwards and sideways with every 'dirdle of the machine.' "Ay," cried the homeward-bound reveller, "A doot ye're some like masel an' been haein a skyte ower muckle," but the figure made no reply and proceeded beneficently towards 'Aiberdeen awa' to do its last good deed. Little shelter-houses with fireplace, chairs and table were erected in many a kirkyard within thirty miles and even further of Aberdeen, where the living could keep vigil over the dead in the first hours of their eternal sleep. Frequently the refreshments partaken of in the 'riggin o' the nicht' proved too potent and the students obtained their 'subject' from beneath the very noses of the invigilators. Meanwhile surgery and general medicine were making headway. An old man, born in the eighteen-thirties, has told in conversation how that as a young halflin of about sixteen years he was walking along a country road in Buchan. A clay-walled, stob-thackit hoosie of the type usually denominated 'luggie-cog,' in virtue of the lum

at one end above the gavel, stood in a girse-park near-by. Suddenly the door opened and a man hailed the lad and bade him enter. He obeyed the summons and found stretched out on a deal table a game-keeper whose leg had received a charge of shot from a poacher's gun. A doctor with a saw presided over the scene. Three men had been stationed one at each corner of the table to hold the sufferer in position, and the young lad was to occupy the fourth place. The patient was in the process of being drenched with whisky (which was all that medical science at that time had by way of anæsthetic) and was already in a state of drunken stupor when the lad entered. He described that he himself proved of little service to the surgeon, as he fainted during the process of amputation. Such a personal record proclaims more eloquently than words the debt the Aberdeen University Medical Hall owes to its line of distinguished surgeons, among whom the name of Sir Alexander Ogston (1844-1929)—the 'Sandy Ogston' of his old students—is held in high honour.

Be it granted that Medical Science had not a hundred years back reached that stage of a precise and accurate understanding of cause and effect that it has to-day. This does not mean, however, that the art of quick and accurate diagnosis had not reached a high standard among the medical practitioners of the North-East a century ago, though they had little to offer by way of remedy beyond copious draughts of 'castor-ile' and incessant applications of mustard poultice. They healed sprains by 'thoomin' and they were 'skeely at cryins.' They relied upon experience, intuition and the methods of trial-and-error. They could act promptly. Said a cottar-wife with a child in her oxter to the doctor as he happened to be passing by in his machine :—

" Nyod, doctor, ma bairn's aafa baddert wi' a hoast."

"Hoot awa, umman, hoot awa," said the kindly physician, "tell ma, is't a hard hoast ur a pyocher?"

The careful mother detailed the symptoms with clarity and precision.

"It's naider 'e teen nur 'e tidder, doctor, an' it's nae a hirsel nur a kittle aider, an' it's nae eyven a clicher, bit it's jist a kin' o' a conteeniwal clorach."

The doctor pulled out his notebook and prescribed unhesitatingly.

Thus the great science of medicine made headway and overcame its

initial difficulties, through the successive stages of slater-juice, Gregory's Powder and body-snatching. To-day in Aberdeen there is the great institution at Foresterhill, which is attracting widespread attention.

AGRICULTURAL SCHOLARSHIP

The processes of cultivating the soil were passing beyond the stage of merely ca'in peats and weary howkin and tyaavin in the caal, weet, clorty clay, and the problem before Aberdeen some half a century and less ago was the creation of an Agricultural College and of a department of Agriculture within the University and its linking-up with the great farming industry roundabout. The practices of husbandry differed in the various regions of the North-East, and the Agricultural College had to attempt to accommodate itself to them all. John Grant Michie gives a vivid account of farming among the crofters of Highland Deeside in the early eighteen-hundreds. The men ploughed, sowed and planted in spring, and built the ricks in autumn. All the rest of the work, including the reaping by hook and the gathering in of the crops was done by their womenfolk. Meanwhile, the men went from croft to croft, 'preein' the home-made barley-bree or 'uisge-beatha' that never saw the gauger, and taking part in unending 'ceilidhs' of Gaelic song and story. In Buchan, on the other hand, there was and had been for a long time a considerable standard of agriculture. The men worked hard and skilfully as also did the women, and a woman's prestige rested upon the quality of her power to lend an effective hand inside the house and out of it. Two crofters, who were brothers and single men, worked their holding in company. One of them suddenly got married and the other was asked his opinion of his brother's wife. "A fine crater," he replied, "but some licht i' the dracht for oor placie." Such were the units used to assess excellence in a woman. The methods of farming had been tried out through the centuries and had proved themselves in the main reliable in practice. The Buchan farmer was suspicious of anything that savoured of academic theory. "I have consulted a professor of Political Economy—," said a Parliamentary candidate in answer to a heckling question. He was cut short peremptorily. "That's jist the kin' o' a man nae tae speer at," cried a farmer. An Agricultural College was mooted in connexion with Aberdeen University some forty or fifty years ago. This was a new idea for

the Buchan farmer and obviously a somewhat comic one. Universities existed to train Ministers and Squeelmaisters, but Fairmers—no, never. "A man mith be lairnt idder trades, bit a fairmer hiz tae be a fairmer fae the 'foon'." He based his judgment upon a long tradition. He had seen manse glebes run by ministers, sometimes quite satisfactorily, with the aid of the minister's man and sometimes the reverse. Did not the great 'Tillygorum' himself for some seven years forsake his book-closet and attempt to cultivate the Mains of Ludquharn (1758). He sold out and so saved himself from the inevitable roup. Here is his own description of his agricultural efforts:—

> You can't imagine how much I'm distrest,
> There's not a day that I enjoy rest,
> Except on that blest day, the first in seven,
> That day appointed as it was in heaven!
> Then I'm myself: for when the gown goes on,
> I'm no more farmer then, but Pres'ter John.
> The folks with pleasure hear me sermonise,
> And once a week I'm reckoned learned and wise;
> The pulpit brings me into people's favours,
> And Sunday screens from creditors and cravers;
> But Monday comes, of course, and then begins
> A new week's penance for the last week's sins.
>
> Thus farm and house demands come on together,
> Both must be answered, I can answer neither;
> I put them off till Lammas, Lammas comes,
> Our Vestry meets, and I get in my sums;
> The half-year's stipend makes a pretty show,
> But twenty ways poor fifteen pounds must go;
> Scarce one night does it in my coffers stay,
> Like Jonah's gourd that withered in a day,
> First come, first served, with me is still the way.

This is vivid poetry but the North-Eastern farmer has never been wont to reckon his profit and loss account on a poetical basis. He has a clear picture handed down by tradition of 'The Ewie wi' the crookit horn' jumping about the dykes of Linshart, and varying its diet of girse teetin' oot amidst soorocks, chucknart and dockins with sundry unauthorised incursions into the Episcopal minister's kailyard. The following further illustration of the academic attitude to practical husbandry has come down among the

Longside traditions. 'Tillygorum' sat in his book-closet busy upon the composition of his Ecclesiastical History when a 'chap' came at his door and the serving-maid thrust in her head. "Hech Sirs, minister!" she cried, "There's naider bite na sup i' the hoose." "Trust in Prōvidence, Jeannie," said the minister, not pausing to lift his eyes from his task, "trust in Prōvidence." An hour later Jeannie returned breathless and excited. She had gone out and espied a farmer's wife coming rapidly up the manse road carrying a duck dangling by the legs. "Eh, minister," she cried, "ye wis richt. Here's Prōvidence comin' roon the neuk wi' a deuk." The Buchan farmer rightly or wrongly therefore had a clear enough vision in his own mind of what a farm might look like if run by a committee of professors. Nevertheless, the authorities refused to be discouraged and the Agricultural College was established in 1904. Two farmers were discussing the new venture as the train drew up at the station of Auchnagatt. "Fat think ye aboot this new 'Agriculteral Cōlege' that they've startit in Aiberdeen?" said one of them. "A pit mair lippenance," said the other, "nur in a' their learnin, in a wee bit shooerie fin it's nott." "Weel, we see the effeck quicker onywye." This represented the highly critical attitude of the period. Some farmers sent their sons for the full period of study required for the B.Sc. in Agriculture—very sceptical but hoping for the best. Others suffered their sons to attend the courses for one year, hoping that the entire youth of their offspring might not be completely 'connacht' by being allowed even for such a brief space of time to follow false gods. Apart from the very real risk that their sons ran of having their heids stappit with unpractical ginkums by attending a college course of lectures on husbandry, many farmers foresaw the scarcity of farm labour that was likely to ensue from the universal spread of higher education. A farmer was visiting his son in Aberdeen while he was qualifying for his degree in Arts. He pointed out to his father a young woman from the country clad in her scarlet toga and told him how brilliant a student she was. The father viewed her strongly-knit figure with a professional eye and declared emphatically, "A gweed kitchy-umman connacht." Meanwhile, lecturers and emissaries went out from the college to a' the airts carrying forth the new gospel. Some of these lecturers had English accents which established an immediate *a priori* case against the validity of their agricultural knowledge and recommendations. How could men be relied upon to know

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in the United States, ...to
demonstrate its method of working. The various parts of the machine were satisfactorily fixed together and three horses were yoked as an effective means of traction. All was ready. One of the American citizens mounted the driver's seat, pulled lustily on the reins, violently cracked and flourished the long-thonged whip, crying loudly all the while, "Woo-hoo, woo-hoo, gee-up, woo-hoo." The noble animals reared and plunged, but could in

Longside traditions. 'Tillygorum' sat in his book-closet busy upon the composition of his Ecclesiastical History when a 'chap' came at his door and the serving-maid thrust in her head. "Hech Sirs, minister!" she cried, "There's naider bite na sup i' the hoose." "Trust in Prōvidence, Jeannie," said the minister, not pausing to lift his eyes from his task, "trust in Prōvidence." An hour later Jeannie returned breathless and excited. She had gone out and espied a farmer's wife coming rapidly up the manse road carrying a duck dangling by the legs. "Eh, minister," she cried, "ye wis richt. Here's Prōvidence comin' roon the neuk wi' a deuk." The Buchan farmer rightly or wrongly therefore had a clear enough vision in his own mind of what a farm might look like if run by a committee of professors. Nevertheless, the authorities refused to be discouraged and the Agricultural College was established in 1904. Two farmers were discussing the new venture as the train drew up at the station of Auchnagatt. "Fat think ye aboot this new 'Agriculteral Cōlege' that they've startit in Aiberdeen?" said one of them. "A pit mair lippenance," said the other, "nur in a' their learnin, in a wee bit shooerie fin it's nott." "Weel, we see the effeck quicker onywye." This represented the highly critical attitude of the period. Some farmers sent their sons for the full period of study required for the B.Sc. in Agriculture—very sceptical but hoping for the best. Others suffered their sons to attend the courses for one year, hoping that the entire youth of their offspring might not be completely 'connacht' by being allowed even for such a brief space of time to follow false gods. Apart from the very real risk that their sons ran of having their heids stappit with unpractical ginkums by attending a college course of lectures on husbandry, many farmers foresaw the scarcity of farm labour that was likely to ensue from the universal spread of higher education. A farmer was visiting his son in Aberdeen while he was qualifying for his degree in Arts. He pointed out to his father a young woman from the country clad in her scarlet toga and told him how brilliant a student she was. The father viewed her strongly-knit figure with a professional eye and declared emphatically, "A gweed kitchy-umman connacht." Meanwhile, lecturers and emissaries went out from the college to a' the airts carrying forth the new gospel. Some of these lecturers had English accents which established an immediate *a priori* case against the validity of their agricultural knowledge and recommendations. How could men be relied upon to know

about farming when in going round the Buchan 'fairm-toons' they shewed themselves obviously ignorant of the 'naitral' names of the most rudimentary farm-implements and processes? Some of them had difficulty in understanding the very nature of the questions put to them and thus proved themselves ignorant even of the English tongue. In fact, it has always been somewhat of a mystery to the dwellers in the North-East to find that the English with whom they have come into personal contact have such difficulty in understanding the English language. And yet one would be less than human if one did not realise the predicament of the London piano-tuner who, on being drafted up to Buchan for land labour during the 1914-1918 war, received as his first instructions, "Noo, ye'll jist tak' 'at sheel an' tirr yon taatie pit." One of the extra-mural lecturers—a native of the North-East and therefore suffering from no linguistic disability—has narrated that he himself gave a course of instruction throughout an entire winter session in a remote region of Aberdeenshire. One old farmer was particularly 'eident' in his attendances and appeared to be profiting from the prelections delivered. The last night came and, in virtue of his age and experience, he was chosen by the class to propose a vote of thanks. The lecturer tells how that throughout the course of his remarks the old farmer strove hard to be judicial and said how much he had enjoyed the instruction given, but that "for himsel' he saa nae rizzen tae alter his opeengan that the best craps wid niver be gotten oot o' lecters bit jist oot o' the aal-fashiont three s's, sinsheen, shooers, an' sharn." The difficulty of language and vocabulary was by no means confined to human beings but presented itself also in connexion with the dumb creation. A mode of expression that was comprehensible to American horses on the plains of Texas proved singularly ineffective when applied to their counterparts born and bred in the Laichs o' Buchan. A farmer in the North-East neuk of Aberdeenshire had purchased a new reaper-and-binder manufactured in the United States, and American citizens were sent along with it to demonstrate its method of working. The various parts of the machine were satisfactorily fixed together and three horses were yoked as an effective means of traction. All was ready. One of the American citizens mounted the driver's seat, pulled lustily on the reins, violently cracked and flourished the long-thonged whip, crying loudly all the while, "Woo-hoo, woo-hoo, gee-up, woo-hoo." The noble animals reared and plunged, but could in

no wise be induced to move a single step forward. After witnessing these futile manifestations for some time, the farmer moved quietly up to his foreman and said gently in his ear, "Sandy, ye mith tak' 'em in han' yersel." He then suggested tactfully to the American that, as his foreman knew the horses, perhaps he would allow him to try his hand at starting them, but otherwise to act strictly on instructions. Sandy thereupon mounted the driver's seat, took the reins loosely in his hand, threw away the long-thonged whip, and said in his quiet, kindly way, "Come awa' noo than, ye aal —— ." The noble beasts recognising immediately the voice and the authority of the 'horseman's word' moved steadily and sturdily forward on their appointed mission. Despite these unpropitious beginnings, however, the Agricultural College has won its way and established itself in the North-East. Farmers get advice how to stamp out pests; how to sow the appropriate clover and thus to quadruple yield of pasture; how to improve milk supply and farm stocks; and in many other ways help the farmer to produce home-grown food so necessary for us in our sea-girt isle. The Rowett Institute for Animal Nutrition at Bucksburn, and the Macaulay Institute for Soil Research at Craigiebuckler have both now a world-wide reputation. The test-tube and the plough go forward side by side, a scientific and practical brotherhood in the North-East. The North of Scotland College of Agriculture, with its central staff and its County organisers through the whole of the North of Scotland, is proving an invaluable aid to agricultural practice to the whole of the farming community.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE MATTER

There is no space to dwell further on this fascinating theme. Anyone who wishes to study in detail throughout the centuries the panorama of the development of scholarship in the North-East will find a host of vital personalities leaping alive from the canvas, more entrancing than the characters of any novel. The question has been raised whether the men from the North-East are of the same quality as their forbears. This subject has of late been hotly debated in divers quarters and on manifold occasions. Still, the red-gowned students, undeterred by the misgivings of their elders,

continue to pour forth and take their part in the country's higher intellectual life, and thus unconsciously to provide further material for this discussion. Meanwhile, amongst their elders, whose active day is done and who look benevolently and at times apprehensively on what they regard as the progressive degeneration of the human race in general and Aberdonians in particular, 'the debate continues.'

Perhaps this sketch cannot be concluded more fittingly than by quoting three verses from "The Song of the Student" (air—"The Song of the Shirt") taken from that important and illuminating Aberdeen University classic, "Life at a Northern University," by Neil Nathaniel McLean (1835-1873) who was a student in Arts (1853-1859). It throws into sharp contrast the modern attitude towards education as a liberator of the spirit compared with the conception of unrelieved drudgery associated with the acquisition of learning a century ago. It seems to us today a strange song to sing at a convivial party which was held "amid the jingling of glasses," the rattling of tumblers, and the cheers of the assembled company—to quote from the scene as described in the book:—

With body weary and worn,
  With eyelids heavy and red,
A young man sat, and a longing glance
  Was thrown on his lowly bed.
Grind, grind, grind,
  Till your head is like to break;
Work through the live-long night,
  For your honour is at stake.

Grind, grind, grind,
  In the dull December light,
Grind, grind, grind,
  And work with all my might!
But oh! if while I work
  The seeds of death are sown,
What profit will it be
  If honour's all my own.

While grind, grind, grind,
  Sounds ever in my ear,
The shades of death will come
  And stretch me on my bier!
My eyes on life will close
  When all is bright and fair,
I'll mingle with the dust,
  And be of those that were.

View of Peterhead showing the Whalers in the Harbour. From an aquatint, after a painting by George Tytler, 1813, in the Clark Collection, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

PETERHEAD AND THE GREENLAND SEA

BY R. W. GRAY

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I. INTRODUCTORY

Peterhead is one of the places which sent in former times whaling and sealing ships to the Greenland Sea.*

Peterhead is my native place, and I can claim to be connected with the Peterhead whalers from 1791 down to 1893, that is to say, almost from the first down to the very last.

My earliest recollections concern the departure and return of the *Eclipse*, my father's ship. In the winter months "the ship," as we called it, lay alongside the quay, floating at high water and going aground at low tide. About the "new year" she would be in the graving dock having her sides caulked and payed and her two-bladed propeller painted red. About the same time my father would be engaging a crew, and two or three weeks later the work of "fitting out" or preparing the vessel for her coming voyage would be going on: coals and stores were put on board, the yards were crossed, the sails were bent, etc., in all of which operations, as may be supposed, we boys took the greatest interest. Sailing day was a great occasion. Numbers of people came to see the ships off, and as each one passed the pier-head there was much cheering and waving of hats and caps. Soon the little fleet was on its way to the Shetlands and out of sight.

*Peterhead also sent ships to Davis Strait, but for the sake of brevity I have confined myself to the Greenland Sea.

A few additional facts about the *Eclipse* may not be out of place. Dimensions: length 149 feet, beam 29 feet, depth of hold 16 feet, tonnage, gross 436, net 295. Engines, compound H.P. (nominal) 75. She was strongly built of oak, with the frames of a ship twice her size, numerous "ice beams" at the level of the water-line, a sheathing of iron-bark—a hard Australian wood, additional layers of planking at the bow, ice plates to protect her stem, etc. The lower part of her hold was occupied by iron tanks instead of casks, as in ships of an earlier date. She carried eight whale-boats and a crew of fifty-five men, most of whom hailed from Peterhead. She was built by Hall & Co., of Aberdeen, and made her first voyage in 1867.

The *Active*, my father's previous ship, was smaller than the *Eclipse*, was without an auxiliary engine (at any rate while my father commanded her), and had a square instead of an elliptical stern.

Both the *Eclipse* and *Active* were good examples of ice-fishing ships, being ship-rigged and having single top-sails reefed from the deck and a foresail with a boom across its foot to facilitate going about. Other important attributes were the "crow's nest" (occupied by the Captain when the ship was underweigh), a "conning plank" or bridge, and a massive rudder capable of being easily unshipped.

The *Active* was built at Peterhead, making her first voyage in 1853.

I made in all eight voyages with my father: the first in 1883, the last in 1890. I still possess a number of father's and uncle J.'s log-books; these, my own recollections, the recently published log-books of Scoresby Sr., and the writings of the celebrated Scoresby Jr., together constitute a mine of information concerning the old whaling and sealing days.

The Greenland Sea

The Greenland or Spitzbergen Sea—the wide and deep channel between Greenland and Spitzbergen—is both an inlet and an outlet of the Arctic Ocean ; through its western part, ice-cold, ice-encumbered water flows south, while through its eastern part warm "Gulf Stream" water flows north.

The different kinds of Ice

(*a*) *The "Heavy" or "Whaling Ice."*—This kind of ice issues from the Arctic Ocean and drifts south along the Greenland coast. At first it is

mostly in the form of very extensive sheets termed "fields" and "floes," but as it drifts south into lower latitudes it is sooner or later acted on by the swell of the ocean and converted by it into innumerable pieces of "pack," or broken ice. Finally, as it drifts south it melts and disappears.

Incidentally, as Scoresby understood, this kind of ice throws light on the regions farther north: its vast amount implies the absence of extensive land in very high latitudes, and its great thickness and the tree-trunks and mineral matter associated with it imply a slow-flowing current coming from the direction of Siberia.

(*b*) *The "Light" or "Sealing Ice."*—This kind of ice is formed *in situ* in the winter months, and is lighter than the "whaling ice," although pieces of "old" or "heavy ice" are occasionally seen amongst it. It occurs outside the whaling ice, and owing to the influence of the "Gulf Stream" is usually confined to the region south of lat. 73°.

(*c*) *The "South-East Ice."*—In addition to the "whaling ice" and the "sealing ice," there is also the "south-east ice." This kind of ice comes from the east through the interval between Spitzbergen and Bear Island. It is, however, usually scanty in amount, and usually melts before it effects a junction with the much more abundant whaling ice coming from the north-east.

"Open" and "Close" Seasons

The currents of the Greenland Sea are subject to considerable fluctuations. In what were termed "open seasons" there is an active oceanic circulation whereas in what were termed "close seasons" the opposite is the case.

In open seasons so much "Gulf Stream" water enters the Greenland Sea that north of lat. 73° the sea remains open, and in April there is nothing to prevent a ship sailing as far north as lat. 80° or even 81°. In "close seasons," on the other hand, owing to the diminished influx of warm "Gulf Stream" water, even the sea north of lat. 73° freezes, and ships heading for a high latitude and the "whaling ice" found their progress hindered by a barrier of light ice in lat. 75° or 76° termed a "south-east pack."

According to Scoresby, 1803, 1813 and 1817 were "open seasons"; 1874 was another, and, in his log-book, my father says that the ice was

drifting quickly south-west, and he calculated that in three months upwards of 300,000 square miles of ice issued from the Arctic Ocean and drifted south-west through the Greenland Sea. Again, according to Scoresby, 1807, 1811 and 1812 were "close seasons"; so also were 1838, 1847, 1856, 1866, 1872 and 1881. The last was particularly "close," the barrier of ice or "south-east pack" being unusually heavy and difficult to penetrate. As many will perhaps remember, the spring of 1881 was very severe in this country. No doubt the two phenomena were due to the same cause; a temporary failure of the oceanic circulation and to the non-arrival of the usual amount of warm "Gulf-stream" water from the south-west.

Plankton or "Food-banks."—Besides ice, areas of water, green in colour and rich in the small creatures—the copopod, *Calanus finmarchicus*, etc., on which Greenland whales feed, drift south-west through the western part of the Greenland Sea. These areas of "dark" or green water, termed "food-banks" by the whalers, have a powerful attraction for the Greenland whales; they come up from the south-west in the spring, doubtless to meet them, and, after accompanying them for considerable distances, the whales resume, sooner or later, their northward migrations to meet other "food-banks" drifting, it is supposed, from higher latitudes and more easterly longitudes towards the Greenland Sea.

For reasons doubtless connected with the depth at which their food is situated, and with their diving powers, some of the whales followed the drifting, and, perhaps, sinking "food-banks" farther towards the south-west than the others. The first to turn and resume their northward migrations were the females, accompanied by calves and the immature whales of either sex; the former were seldom seen south of lat. 78° and seldom after the middle of June; the latter, on the other hand, were sometimes seen as far south as lat. 71°, and as late as the middle of August.

Areas or masses of water, green in colour and rich in whales' food, doubtless also enter the Greenland Sea from the east through the channel between Spitzbergen and Bear Island; at any rate, numbers of whales were at one time caught in lat. 76°.

I now propose to refer to the different hunts or "fishings" in which the Peterhead whalers and sealers took part.

II. THE WHALING OR WHALE-FISHING

There were two hunts or "fishings": a "north" and a "south." At the former, prosecuted in the spring, the whalers looked for the whales in the outskirts of the ice; while at the latter, prosecuted in the summer, they searched for them in its depths.

At the north fishing, in open seasons, the whales caught were mostly either large or medium-sized animals, whereas in close seasons, at any rate in the case of ships that succeeded in getting far enough north, this was not the case. For instance, in the open season 1813, sixty whales caught by the Peterhead ships yielded 722 (old) tons, whereas in 1811 (a close season) one hundred and twelve caught by the same fleet only yielded 752 (old) tons, and thirty-four caught by the *Enterprise* in 1807 (another close season) only yielded 172 (old) tons.*

Scoresby, referring to the south fishing, says:—

"Before the year 1818, for at least a quarter of a century, the fishery generally was pursued between the parallels of 76° and 80°; and the 79th degree, at the distance of thirty or forty leagues from the coast of Spitzbergen, afforded to the most persevering fishers, an abundant harvest, for years together. After the season of 1814, however, the northern fishery became extremely precarious; the whales then being uncommonly scarce, the fishers began to explore the seas farther to the southward, but without proceeding into the depths of the ice, or remaining among it beyond the middle or end of the month of July; an idea prevailing, that it was not only useless, but extremely dangerous to be entangled in the ice after this period. At the close of the season of 1817, I penetrated the ice in latitude 74°, about 100 miles towards the west, but without finding whales; and, the year following, two ships approached the east coast of Greenland, and met with encouraging success. In 1820 I obtained a full cargo, principally upon this station, in latitudes 74° down to 71°: and several other ships made successful fisheries amid the same ice, within sight of the 'West Land'."

The "south fishing" did not come up to expectations. From first to last it yielded only a few whales. Of the fifty odd caught in the second half of last century all but one or two were caught, I believe, by my father.

*Old tons of oil only weighed 17¼ cwts., and were consequently a good deal smaller than modern tons. They went out of use about 1830.

Speaking generally, at both north and south fishings, the whales were usually caught in a lower latitude and less easterly or more westerly longitude as the season advanced. And again, speaking generally, the smaller whales were found farthest north, the largest ones farthest south. My father is quoted by the late Mr. Southwell as saying: (Amongst the ice) "The largest whales are taken between 70° and 75° North; between 75½° and 77° North the sea is barren of Whales; 77° to 78°, 40′ N. produces 'second sized whales' averaging from ten to twelve tons of oil, whilst from 79° to 80°, 20′ N. are found only 'nursery whales,' averaging about five tons each."

Route followed by the Ships

Sailing either direct from Britain, as we did in the *Eclipse* in the years 1886-1890, or proceeding thither after prosecuting the seal-fishing, as we did in 1884 and 1885, the whaling vessels reached the icy waters west of Spitzbergen early in May 1883 and 1884.

In open seasons they had no difficulty in reaching the ice in lat. 80°, where the fishing usually commenced, but if it happened to be a "close season," as in 1888, they had to force their way north through the already mentioned "south-east pack."

When the ships were cruising for whales, certain indications were sought which the whalers knew by experience to be favourable to the appearance of the animals. The first of these was moderately loose ice with close pack-ice or floes in the neighbourhood. The second was abundance of food. The presence of this condition we ascertained by means of a surface net, or we merely inferred it from the colour of the water, which varied from the barrenness of clear cold cerulean to the richness of opaque and warm olive-green. The crustacean *Calanus finmarchicus*, the pteropod *Clione limacina* and the gasteropod *Limacina helicina* were amongst the most abundant forms, the first mentioned contributing perhaps nine-tenths of the whales' food. The third condition was the abundance of the higher form of animal life, such as birds, especially guillemots (*Uria grylla*) and little auks or rotches (*Alca arra*); also narwhals (*Monodon monoceros*), floe-seals or floe-rats (*Phoca hispida*), bears, etc.

According to my father, the whales made their appearance in the outskirts of the ice north of lat. 78° about 15th May, but only remained in

Captain David Gray.

that locality until the opening of the ice permitted them to resume their northward journey; at any rate, usually about the middle of June they disappeared into its depths and were last seen going north-west. The "north fishing" was then over for a season.

If unsuccessful in obtaining a cargo at the northern ground, the ships proceeded south-westwards as far as lat. 75°, where if the ice were sufficiently open, they penetrated westward until the Greenland coast, or "West Land," as it was called, was visible from aloft. There they cruised about or lay made fast to a floe, keeping a look-out for whales until the middle of August, when the darkness of the nights put an end to the south fishing for a season.

Scoresby's account of the "Greenland" or Spitzbergen whaling ("Arctic Regions," Vol. II) differs from the foregoing because, firstly, in his time the whalers commenced the fishery sooner, and in a more north-easterly situation than the whalers of a later date; secondly, because lat. 76° was still yielding whales; and thirdly, the south or summer fishing had not yet started.

Catching the Whales

There are three usual ways of catching whales: the Eskimo method, what may be termed the old or obsolete method (the one we used), and the modern or Norwegian method.

The *Eclipse*, as already stated, carried eight boats—seven for use and a spare one—into each of the former 600 fathoms of $2\frac{3}{4}$-inch whale-line were carefully coiled, in the bow of each a gun was mounted, and harpoons, etc., were put on board.

When a whale was sighted, and the circumstances were favourable, two boats, manned by the watch on deck, were lowered and sent to effect its capture. Two boats were sent because the Greenland whale, when struck, frequently descends very deep, and a single boat did not carry enough line. Having proceeded far enough, the boats lay with their oars a-peak and awaited events. When the whale rose ahead of one of the boats, and not too far away, the boat was said to get a "start" or "chance." This event having happened, the boat concerned pulled quickly towards the whale, and when about a ship's-length from it, ceased rowing and allowed the boat to run until within a few yards of the whale, when the harpooner, standing in the boat's bow, fired the harpoon into the whale's back. When this

occurred, one of the men in the boat hoisted a "Jack" or flag, the harpooner in the bow and the line manager and boat-steerer in the stern attended to the line. At the same time the men gave a shout "Fall, fall," which was taken up by the men on the other boat and by the people on the ship, the latter at the same time commenced to man and lower the remaining boats.

Usually the whale "sounded" or tried to reach the bottom, reappearing, however, after an interval of half an hour or more near where it went down. As soon as this expected event happened, additional harpoons were "struck" or fired into it by the waiting boats, so as to make its entanglement more complete and its chance of escape correspondingly less. After the unfortunate animal was completely exhausted and incapable of leaving the surface, it was approached by a disengaged boat and given its *coup de grâce* by means of "lances" or long spears. Finally, the whale-lines attached to it having been disconnected and hauled in, the dead animal, followed by numbers of hungry and noisy mallemokes, was towed tail first in triumph to the ship to be flensed or flayed.

Flensing of the Whale

Flensing a large whale took about four hours. After the operation was completed, the carcase was cut adrift and allowed to sink, the gangway was shipped, the boats used in flensing hoisted up, sail made and the watch set; and the search for whales renewed.

"Making Off"

A few days later the blubber of the whale was "made off," that is to say, it was brought up on deck, freed from the skin, etc., attached to it, chopped into small pieces and emptied into one or more of the tanks.

Why Whales were Lost

(*a*) Greenland whales are easily alarmed, moreover, it is usually easy for them to disappear or to betake themselves to a space amongst the ice where they cannot be reached. For this reason judgment and patience were necessary on the part of the harpooners in charge of the attacking boat, and when these were not exercised, the chance of making a capture was bungled or spoilt.

(*b*) The attacking boat succeeded in approaching the whale and the harpooner took aim and fired the gun, but the weapon either missed the animal or failed to strike it properly, and subsequently drew.

(*c*) The attack was unwisely made by an unaccompanied boat and the line was exhausted and the whale "loose" or free to escape before another boat had time to come to its assistance with additional line. Even so, the harpooned whale sometimes reappeared near where it went down, and was "struck" a second time.

(*d*) A second harpoon was not fired into the whale with sufficient promptness when it reappeared, the animal being given time to regain its strength and break loose.

(*e*) The whale was attacked in unfavourable circumstances: usually in the vicinity of either close pack-ice or bay-ice, or an unbroken but wasted floe, and the whale when struck, instead of sounding as hoped, entered it and either lay amongst it where it could not be reached, or advanced through it, taking out more and more line. In these circumstances, the harpooner had to choose between increasing the strain on the line so as to break it, or drawing the harpoon and seeing the whale escape with miles of line.

(*f*) Whales that died at a great depth were sometimes lost when trying to haul them up, and whales that died either under or amongst the ice were also lost when trying to haul them out.

Circumstances of Ice and Weather

At "Greenland," as the whalers termed the Greenland Sea, much depended on the direction of the wind. The most favourable winds were from the north and west, the least so, those from the opposite directions. The former opened the ice and allowed the ships to sail about amongst it, while the latter closed it and obliged them, if amongst the ice, to come to the outside. Moreover, the accompanying swell and fog made matters worse.

As Scoresby says, "The nature of the circumstances most favourable for fishing will be readily understood, when it is observed that the fishery most particularly requires a cloudy atmosphere, yet free from fog or continued snow; smooth water, with a breeze of wind; and navigably open, or perfectly solid (i.e. unbroken) ice."

"Calms are unfavourable for fishing. The stillness which then prevails gives the whale a great advantage in avoiding danger, by the distinct use

of its hearing and sight; so that it is difficult for a boat to approach within the distance to which a harpoon can be thrown, before the fish takes the alarm, and escapes. In a brisk breeze, on the contrary, where the surface of the water is rough with 'wind lipper,' both the sight and hearing of the whale must be very indistinct."

As is well known, the whale fishery just described was preceded by an open-water in-shore fishery at which the whales caught were probably Atlantic whales, not Greenland whales. The scenes of this fishery were the coastal waters of Spitzbergen and Jan Mayen, and the fishery was prosecuted from the shore or from vessels anchored near it, and was confined to open seasons and the summer months.

Similarly, at Davis Straits, the capture of Greenland whales was preceded by a corresponding open-water fishery prosecuted in the inlets of West Greenland at which the whales caught were probably Atlantic whales, not Greenland whales.

Peterhead sent a whaling vessel to "Greenland" for the first time in 1788. The *Robert*, the pioneer vessel, was but two-masted. She was only about half the usual size, and hardly big enough to carry the necessary number of boats.

The little *Robert* was at first very unsuccessful; in 1788, under the command of Peacock (a Hull man), she returned with only one ton, and in 1789, and again in 1790, she returned "clean" (i.e. with nothing), but in 1791, under the command of Geary (a local man), she returned with forty-seven tons—the produce of one whale and an unknown number of seals.

In 1802 the *Robert* was replaced by the *Hope* (240 tons), a larger ship, probably carrying more boats, and better equipped for catching whales amongst the ice. In 1804 the *Hope* was joined by the *Enterprise* (290 tons), a still larger and probably still better equipped ship. Geary was transferred to the *Hope*, and in 1804 Volum, who had sailed with him as mate, was appointed commander of the new ship.

In subsequent years the number of ships sailing out of Peterhead continued to increase until they formed quite a small fleet. In 1857 the Peterhead "Greenland" fleet numbered twenty-eight, but after that date it quickly declined, and in a few years again numbered only a few ships. A vessel sailed out of Peterhead for the Greenland Sea whaling for the last time in 1893. She was the *Windward*, and was commanded by my father;

with her return Peterhead's connection with the Greenland Sea and my father's whaling career both came to an end; the former lasted about one hundred, and the latter about fifty years.

At one time the Peterhead whalers were very successful and second to none in skill and perseverance. In his "Arctic Regions" Scoresby compares the successes of the ships of different ports in the four seasons 1814-1817. In these four seasons the Peterhead ships (seven to ten in number) brought back 3815 tons of oil—the produce of 402 whales, or an average per ship per voyage of 115·6 tons of oil and 5·7 tons of whalebone—the produce of 12·2 whales, these averages being higher than the ships of any other British port.

Forty-four whales, the highest number ever caught by a single ship in one season, were landed in 1814 by the *Resolution*, one of the Peterhead ships.

I now propose to say a few words about the whaling parts of my own voyages. In 1884 we got four whales at the northern fishing which yielded 52 tons of oil and three at the southern which yielded 51 tons. The first one we got at the northern fishing, and another which was with it, rose near the ship (the *Eclipse*) when she was lying-to under sail in a "water" or open space about fifty miles inwards from the open sea. They were the first I ever saw and I was greatly impressed: they were swimming side by side and taking no notice of the ship. Although their progress was deliberate, next time they rose to breathe they would have been amongst the ice, and perhaps out of sight. Unfortunately for them they were being followed by two of our boats, and before they left the surface one was overtaken and a harpoon fired into its back. It proved a fine whale of about 10 feet bone.

For a few days in July the weather was exceedingly fine, and at the same time there was a great deal of refraction which gave distant objects—the pieces of ice, one or two accompanying ships, and the distant land—a distorted and weird appearance. On the 26th at 2 P.M. the dry-bulb thermometer stood at 55° in the shade and 71° in the sun, and next day, to quote my father's log-book, "the ice (where overhanging) was falling down and breaking up all round (about the ship) with a noise like distant and continuous artillery."

The first one we got at the southern fishing was struck by myself. It happened to rise ahead of my boat, and it was an easy matter to give a few strokes and fire the harpoon into its back. Although we got the whale

it was a near affair more than once: firstly, the line ran foul, and for a time, at the risk of capsizing the boat, had to be allowed to run over the side; secondly, the boat came into violent collision with a piece of ice; and lastly, before another boat came to our assistance, nearly all the line had run out. It proved a fine whale of 10½ feet bone, the first we had seen for six weeks, and the first killed at the southern fishing since 1872. Naturally, I was very proud when, with the aid of the other boats, we towed it alongside the ship. I believe its jawbones still grace a garden somewhere near Peterhead. I think it must have been feeding when we attacked it, and too intent on its purpose to notice the approaching boat; a turbidity of the water and slight breeze which ruffled its surface at the right moment aided in bringing about its undoing.

Another we got at the southern fishing had already been struck by one of the *Erik's* boats, but it broke loose and might have escaped. Unfortunately for itself, after passing under a floe about a mile wide it rose near our ship and was struck a second time by one of our boats. When the harpooner fired, the boat and the whale were approaching one another, and moving very fast. It was a smart piece of work, and a feather in Kenneth Mackenzie's (the harpooner) cap. It proved a fine whale of 11 feet bone.

At the northern fishing we only got one whale in 1885—a medium-sized "fish" with whalebone 8 feet 4 inches in length, which yielded about 10 tons of oil and about half a ton of bone. About the middle of June, the northern fishing being considered over, we came out of the ice, and after following its edge south-west re-entered it in lat. 75°.

On 28th June (lat. 74°), according to my father's log-book, mammalian life was unusually abundant, although now I cannot say I remember the occasion. The entry reads as follows: "Many bears prowling about (on the floes); innumerable floe-seals (or floe-rats), also some narwhals." The log-book does not say so but doubtless the sea was green or greenish-blue in colour and abounding in animalcules or whales' food.

We got our first whale at the southern fishing on 30th June in lat. 74°, long. 14½° W. It was asleep when it was struck. I myself sighted it with the aid of a telescope from the masthead. It was on the far side of an unbroken floe and a few miles away. As the wind was light and the use of the engines out of the question, it took us two or three hours to reach it. All this time it remained perfectly motionless and gave no signs of life.

About 3 P.M. (we sighted it about noon), we came to it with the ship, with two boats towing astern. As we sailed slowly past it the boats were cast adrift and one of them pulled towards, and approaching it from behind, harpooned it. It proved a fine whale of about 10 feet bone. Seeing a whale asleep was an unusual event; this and another in 1889 were the only two we saw in the course of my voyages. Another instance is not mentioned in the many log-books in my possession. I made the sleep of whales the subject of a letter which appeared in *Nature* in 1927.

In the end of July in about lat. 73°, long. 16° W.—I am unfortunately unable to give the exact date and place—we saw a whale and a calf. We sent boats in pursuit but fortunately, perhaps, the animals escaped. Seeing a whale and a calf was another unusual event; this was the only one I saw in the course of my voyages and the first my father had seen for twenty years. According to the log-books of Scoresby Sr., whales accompanied by calves were most frequently seen early in the season in the vicinity of Hakluyt's Headland, and I am now of opinion that if my father had gone "north" sooner instead of shooting old seals in about lat. 76°, he would have seen one more frequently.

In the beginning of August, after attempting to enter Scoresby Sound, the mouth of which was still frozen across, we gave up the fishing and came out of the ice. As usual when off the Liverpool coast—the land north of Scoresby Sound—we saw enormous numbers of rotches or little auks. I was much impressed with the mountainous character of the scenery.

The season 1886 was a bad one for whaling. The whaling ice lay too far west, and owing to the frequency of swell was usually in a broken and compact condition. At the northern fishing whales, and those mostly small, were only seen for a few days in the end of May and beginning of June in a "bight" in lat. 79½°. We got seven, the *Erik* the same number, and the *Polar Star* one. The fourteen we and the *Erik's* people killed yielded only 80 tons. The smallest one we caught—"a 4½ foot fish"—was only about 30 feet in length, and was perhaps not many months weaned. These small or "nursery whales" were not only found farthest north and farthest in amongst the ice, but they were the first to desert the deep central waters for their summer resorts. In lat. 80° in 1866 the *Kate* of Peterhead killed a small whale in the blubber of which was found the head of an Eskimo harpoon. We now know that the little whale was probably in the vicinity

of N.E. Greenland when it was attacked. The N.E. Greenlanders who, without exception, were the most northerly and most isolated community in the world have since died out. Like the Eskimos of other regions they doubtless looked mainly to the sea for a living, and the destruction of the Greenland whales in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must have been a serious matter for them.

A similar incident occurred in 1813, an Eskimo lance-head having been found in a whale killed by the *Union*, of Peterhead. It is preserved in the Peterhead museum.

On 7th May, 1887 (lat. 78°), we saw a whale, but as our boats were not yet equipped we did not give chase. On the 27th (lat. 80°) we saw many narwhals migrating north-east and doubtless heading for the waters north of Franz Joseph Land, in which situation Dr. Nansen saw numbers of them in 1895. On 2nd June (lat. 79°) we saw a number of small icebergs which must have come from the since discovered Severnaja Zemlja situated north of Siberia. On the 8th (lat. 78½°) we struck a whale, but lost it owing to the harpoon coming out. On the 21st (lat. 73° 40′) we got a whale, a female, and one of the largest my father ever caught. It yielded about 25 tons of oil and 1¼ tons of whalebone, and was about 58 feet in length. We were amongst the ice at the time and I myself sighted it from the crow's nest. Next day we got a walrus; it was in the water and had a floe-seal in its mouth. On 13th August (lat. 72°), having met with no more success, we gave up the fishing and came out of the ice.

In 1887 we came across a piece of ice freighted with mud, and after I returned I showed a sample of it and a piece or pieces of driftwood to the late Sir John Murray. He agreed with me about the Siberian origin of the specimens, and a few months later I understand he exhibited them at a meeting of the Glasgow Geological Society.

The year 1888 was a "close" season—the only one I experienced. Unfortunately, the barrier of ice although extensive was light, and in a few weeks disappeared. We entered the "north water" on 16th May, and after a short sail we reached lat. 80° and came to an immense floe of heavy ice having a southern face twenty miles in extent. Beyond lat. 80° it was quite impossible to go. Thus far and no farther the heavy ice seemed to say. From the masthead towards the north not a drop of water could be seen, nothing in fact but ice. On the 16th the water had a green colour, but

as my uncle's log-book remarks, "there was no life of any kind in sight." We saw the first narwhals on the 19th and on the 21st the first whale; it was a small one and was rapidly advancing towards the north. About the same date we got a walrus, in the stomach of which I found pieces of seal. A similar instance occurred in 1885. At the north fishing we got one whale (a medium-sized fish) and bungled or "scared" several others. At the south fishing we again only got one (again a medium-sized animal) and lost another. On 23rd August (lat. 71°), disappointed owing to our poor success, we took the whaling gear out of the boats and, coming out of the ice, sailed for home.

In 1889 one of the whales we got was asleep, and I myself as it happened was the harpooner. It was seen from the crow's nest or "masthead" by my father, was a mile or two away, and near the edge of a very large floe. Leaving the ship, which was made fast to the floe, and pulling along its edge, we soon came in sight of the sleeping animal. Like the one seen asleep in 1885, only its "crown" and part of its back were showing above water and, like it, it gave no signs of life.

We approached it from behind as quietly as possible; finally allowing the boat to run slowly towards it under the impetus already given to it by the oars. Before firing I waited until the boat was over its tail and its bow almost touching its back; and before it left the surface I had the satisfaction of seeing that the harpoon was deeply buried in its back. It proved a fine whale of over 10 feet bone, the last one I killed.

In 1890 the state of the ice was very unfavourable, and, although seven ships—three out of Peterhead and four out of Dundee—were at the "fishing," very few whales were seen and none caught. At the southern fishing, when in the crow's nest, I saw something floating in the water surrounded by birds; manning a boat, it proved to be a narwhal; it was criss-crossed with wounds, had its abdominal viscera partly eaten away and obviously had been killed by a walrus. Hidden from us in the boat, but visible to those on the ship, the culprit lay asleep on a near-by piece of ice. I returned empty handed to the ship to learn about the walrus, and to be told that the ship could no longer be delayed. My father had a somewhat similar experience in 1879. The facts are recorded in Buckland's "Notes and Jottings from Animal Life," also in a letter which I communicated to *Nature* in 1927.

III. THE YOUNG SEALING*

I have already referred to the "sealing ice"—the scene of the young sealing. The seals produce their young usually in about lat. 73°, where the "sealing ice" forms a great easterly projecting point exposed to the swell of the ocean on three sides, termed the "point" or "north end" of the sealing ice.

The sealing ice consists of "pancake ice" thickened and cemented into sheets by the frost. Owing to the swell, it is usually in a more or less broken condition, with numerous small openings enabling the breeding animals to reach the underlying water to feed.

The following account of this hunt or fishing is from a paper by my father:—

"The vessels make the (sealing) ice usually about 72° or 73° north in the neighbourhood of the Island of Jan Mayen, a volcanic mountain rising eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. The ice, or 'pack,' as it is called, is composed of numerous different pieces, varying in size. . . .

"Upon this ice the young seals are pupped. In choosing a place for this purpose the old seals are influenced by several things: first, that the ice lies upon water in which their food abounds, consisting principally of a small kind of shrimp; second, that the ice is sufficiently sheltered from the sea, and at the same time as much exposed to the action of the swell as to keep it in motion, and prevent it from freezing into a solid mass (i.e. into continuous sheets or 'floes') which would keep them from getting down to feed. Hummocky ice is also preferred, as it breaks the wind and gives the young seals shelter, which they know well how to take advantage of.

"There are four species of seals inhabiting the Greenland Seas, the 'harp' or 'saddle-back' being the most numerous. These animals congregate (in the water), and early in March come from the north to the place appointed for bringing forth and rearing the young brood. They seem to have a wonderful instinct in doing this, following each other in droves for days, all steering a course to their chosen breeding place. They drop their young from the 16th to the 22nd of March, beautiful little creatures, with soft, light yellow fur to keep them warm during their short infancy; and so rapid is the growth of the young, that if the weather is good, and they are left

*Also called "The Young Seal Fishing."

undisturbed, a marked difference in their size and fatness can be noticed day by day. By the 14th of April the old ones have left their young to take care of themselves. The young ones at this time begin to cast the fur for the beautiful smooth spotted coat which they retain until the third year, when they become full-grown.

"The old seals pair (in the water) immediately after leaving their young; they go eleven months, and they have but one at a time.

"The next in importance to the 'saddle-back' (and the only other seal killed at the fishing) is the 'bladdernose' or 'hooded' seal, so called from the male having a loose bag (of skin) hanging down over its nose which it has the power of blowing up, and it always does when enraged.

"This seal is twice the size of the 'saddle-back,' is black in colour, and spotted somewhat like a leopard.

"Before the rifle came so much into use, the old 'bladdernose' was held in deep respect. Many a time a boat's crew had to beat a hasty retreat off the ice into their boat after having had their seal-clubs snatched out of their hands by these powerful animals. One peculiarity about them is that the females are not more than half the size of the males. They are more irregular in giving birth to their young than the 'saddle-back'; and, strange to say, the young ones cast their (white) fur in the mother's womb, and it is always found beside the young in round balls. They are always most numerous near the 'saddle-backs,' but are seldom seen amongst them.

"Making the (sealing) ice from the 15th to the 20th March, as before stated, the ships cruise along its margin, following the well-known rule that if the ice lies to the eastward of the meridian of Greenwich in lat. 73° N. the (breeding) seals will be found to the northwards of the island of Jan Mayen; but if it (the eastern extremity of the ice) is much to the west of this line, the 'seals' will be found to the south and west of 'the Island.'

"Starting with this knowledge, the longitude of the pack is first ascertained before starting to look for the seals. This being found, the ice is taken, and the ships forced through the pack under steam and canvas, very frequently receiving severe shocks and sometimes getting their bows stove in. Every effort is now made to get the ships through the ice in the required direction. All hands have often to be called to roll the ship from side to side to break the ice down, heaving at windlass and capstan on stout hawsers attached to the ice, using ice-saws to cut and powder to blast a passage.

"Fifteen or twenty years ago a pack of (breeding) seals would have extended in every direction as far as could be seen with a good telescope from a ship's masthead, lying as close as a flock of sheep. . . . In those days a ship, falling in amongst them about the first of April, had no difficulty in getting as many as she could hold. The case is greatly altered now: a pack of seals very rarely exceeds a twentieth part of the above size owing to the cruel way in which they have been destroyed.

"On the seals being reached, the men are sent over the ice, the harpooners armed with rifles, the other men with seal-clubs, knives, etc., also a rope to drag the skins to the ship. . . . The harpooner chooses a place where a number of young seals are lying, knowing well that the mothers will soon make their appearance to see if their young are safe, and then shoots them without mercy. This sort of work goes on for a few days until tens of thousands of young ones are left motherless to die of starvation. . . . In a short time the old ones become shy, and will not come near where men are standing, but keep at a respectful distance. . . .

"In April the young seals are beginning to be better worth taking. The rifles are then laid aside, and every man is employed in killing and flaying the (young) seals and in dragging the skins to the ships. Three thousand is not an unusual number to be slaughtered (and flayed) in a day by a single ship. . . . The largest number of seals taken in one season by a single vessel is twenty-three thousand, yielding 270 tons of oil, valued at over £14,000, more or less, according to the price of produce at the time.

"The young seals having now taken the water and dispersed, which they do very quickly, the operation of 'making off' is commenced; that is, separating the blubber from the skins, and putting the former into the tanks. . . ."

We went to the young sealing in 1883, 1884 and 1885, and I now propose to say a few words about each of these years.

In 1883 the weather on the way out was very stormy and this part of the journey took longer than usual. During the worst storms life on board, needless to say, was far from pleasant. Water washed incessantly across the deck, the ship pitched violently, and it was impossible to stand or walk without continually holding on to some fixed object. At these times only the close reefed main-top-sail was set, the helm being hard down and the ship being allowed to drift. On 26th March we made the ice and commenced following

its edge towards the north-east. On the 30th, in the latitude of Jan Mayen, when sheltering amongst the ice, a very heavy swell came in which caused the pieces of ice to strike against the ship. We spent an unpleasant and anxious night, and next day at least one member of the crew was not sorry to be again outside the ice. On 2nd April, in lat. 73°, when the "close time" had only a few hours to run, and our prospects seemed nil, a fog which enveloped us cleared away revealing in the distance the masts of ships lying in the ice. We were soon in the pack heading for the distant ships. My father occupied the crow's nest, the engines worked at full speed and black smoke rose from the funnel. The ice was about 2 feet thick and was in pieces, which the ship's strongly built bow either pushed aside or broke. After a time the ships we were heading for could be seen from the deck, and an occasional seal was to be seen on the passing ice. The ships, all of which were Norwegian, were seventeen in number, and in two rows, with the doomed seals in between. The latter, which numbered many thousands, were nearly all of the 'saddle-back' kind, and they lay very close—old and young—covering several square miles of the ice. Just before dark we took up a position at the south-west end of the nearest row and opposite the *Geysir*, a rakish-looking Norwegian craft. The evening was fine, and so far as the majority of the seals was concerned the sun set for the last time. The close time expired at midnight, and long before the sun rose the work of slaughter was in full swing, the old ones being shot and the helpless young merely clubbed. During the day the crack of the rifles, the cries of the seals and the shouts of the men were incessant, but in the afternoon as the seals became scarce and the men tired, the noise gradually died, and hours before dark, except for the screaming of gulls, there was silence on the ice, and where there were thousands of happy seals intent on nursing their young there was now only desolation, the ice being streaked with blood and dotted with carcases and "bings," or heaps of skins, each surmounted with a flag. Our share of the booty came to 2148, made up as follows: 'saddle-backs,' old 354; 'white-coats' or young 1470; 'bladder-nose,' old 1, 'blue-backs' or young 322.

In 1884 the 'seals' were again in about lat. 73°. Frost prevailed, and there was an absence of swell. We made the ice on the 17th in lat. 72°, and after ascertaining the whereabouts of the seals' breeding place, on 1st April we entered the ice and commenced forcing a way through it in

a north-westerly direction. The ice was very close, but at intervals it opened slightly, and we were enabled to proceed. Once when on board one of the other ships, the *Eclipse*, began to move, but I overtook her after an exciting chase. After a time we came to ice congealed into extensive sheets or floes. Once we got "nipped" between two, but the ship was none the worse. I remember being below and hearing a succession of dull thuds caused by the ice breaking against the ship's sides. Eventually, after ramming the ice and rolling the ship, we came in sight of the seals and were able to reach them by walking a few miles. Once we met a bear, but at the sight of so many men it turned and disappeared behind some hummocky ice; this was fortunate, as we only had our seal-clubs. The 'saddle-backs' are said not to make holes in the ice, but I have a distinct recollection of circular openings down which the unfortunate animals tried to escape. On the 7th a swell came in which broke the ice, but by this time the seals were all killed and we had commenced dragging their skins from the "bings" to the ship. On or about the 12th we commenced "making off." In the middle watch one night when this process was still uncompleted I noticed a shark in the water alongside. It was an easy matter to lower a hook into its open and upturned mouth and hoist it on board.* *Squalis borealis* permitted this to be done without so much as a wag of its tail. On the 25th we came out of the ice after having been amongst it more than three weeks. During this time the weather was mostly fine, and instead of drifting we remained in about the same place. Our catch consisted of 7000 seals, all but a few of which were 'white-coats' or young 'saddle-backs.'

In 1885 the "seals" were once again in about lat. 73°. The weather was very stormy, both on the way out and for a number of days after making the ice. On 1st April the barometer fell to 27·82° before a south-west gale. After turning the point of the ice we entered it and came in sight of a number of ships. This was on the 7th, by which time it was too late, the seals having all been killed. The *Hope* had about five thousand and the *Erik* not quite three thousand. We only saw one 'white-coat' which it was unlucky not to take so it shared the fate of the rest. The ice was open, and the ships, instead of landing their men directly on the ice, were obliged to use their boats.

*A seal-hook, a large iron affair not made for catching sharks.

The "Hope" made fast to a Floe.

IV. THE OLD SEALING

The "old," i.e. adult 'saddle-back,' sealing was prosecuted along the edge of the heavy or whaling ice, usually between lat. 74½° and 77°.

Referring to this hunt or "fishing," my father says:—

"After all the skins (i.e. the skins of the seals killed at the young sealing) are salted down, the ships (coming out of the sealing ice) proceed farther north to hunt up the old seals. These animals go on the (heavy) ice about the beginning of May, and if left undisturbed will lie on the ice for weeks at a time without coming off it to feed.

"The seals are now fair game. It requires labour and skill to approach them near enough to shoot them, some of them being always on the watch. The best way to get at them is to approach from the lee side, or, if the sun is shining, to keep in his rays. Once within seventy yards, if the man is a good shot, he ought to kill as many as will load his boat (with skins), if the seals are lying well, without changing his position. But few of the men can do this, being indifferent shots, and the seals can only be killed instantly by shooting them through the head. This is necessary, for, if one is wounded, it runs off (the ice), alarms the others near, and they follow; whereas, if shot dead, the rest fancy it is lying down to have another sleep and follow its example. An indifferent shot is a great nuisance to the other men, he scares off so many seals that they have double the work to do. Two thousand old seals is considered a fair season's catch, although double that number are sometimes taken. This fishing is over by the 16th of May for those who intend to proceed to the whaling. When the seals intend shifting, they make a great noise, all giving tongue together in a kind of 'wurr'; they also do the same before bad weather."

V. THE BOTTLE-NOSING

The bottle-nose *Hyperoodon rostratus* is one of the "toothed" whales belonging to that particular section of them termed "beaked" or "ziphoid" whales.

Referring to the bottle-nose, my father, in a short paper, published in 1882, says:—

"These whales are occasionally met with (by the outward-bound whaling ships) immediately after leaving the Shetlands and north across the ocean

until the ice is reached, near the margin of which they are found in greatest numbers.

"They are gregarious in their habits, going in herds of from four to ten. It is rare to see more than the latter number together, although many different herds are frequently in sight at the same time.

"They are very unsuspicious, coming close alongside the ship, round about and underneath the boats, until their curiosity is satisfied. The herd never leaves a wounded companion so long as it is alive; but they desert it immediately when dead; and if another can be harpooned before the previous struck one is killed, we often capture the whole herd. . . . They come from every point of the compass towards the struck one in the most mysterious manner.

"They have great endurance, and are very difficult to kill, seldom (when they 'sound') taking out less than three or four hundred fathoms of line . . . and if they are relieved . . . by the 'lines'* being hauled in before they receive a second harpoon and a well-placed lance or two, it often takes hours to kill them.

"They never die without a hard struggle, lashing the sea white about them, leaping out of the water, striking the boats with their tails, running against them with their heads and sometimes staving in their planks, frequently towing two heavy whale-boats about with great rapidity.

"They vary in colour from black in the young to light brown in the older animals. The very old ones turn almost yellow,† the beak and front of the head being quite white, with a white band round their necks; all of them are greyish-white in the belly.

"The full-grown (male) whale is thirty feet long by twenty in circumference, and yields two tons of oil besides two cwts. of spermaceti.‡

"In the female, in front of the bones of the head there is a cavity containing a small quantity of oil which is quite colourless and twice the density of that rendered from the blubber. In the males, instead of oil there is a

*The whale-line was in 120-fathom lengths termed "lines," hence the term used above.

† The brown and yellow colour is due to a thin pellicle of marine growth adhering to the surface of the skin.

‡ An analysis of the oil shows it to be almost identical in character with that of the sperm whale.

Fœtus of Whale.

solid lump of fat similar in shape to, and about twice the size of, a water-melon.

"Their ordinary food consists of a bluish-white cuttle-fish* about six inches long. . . . The stomachs of the whales that were examined contained nothing but their remains. . . .

"From a cow a young male was cut out, measuring ten feet long by five feet six inches in circumference. The length of the mother was twenty-nine feet.†

"The heads of two males were measured round the eyes: one was thirteen feet one inch, the other twelve feet six inches, which may be taken as the average size of the circumference of the full-grown male."

1877 was a year of fate for the bottle-nose whales. The *Jan Mayen* of Peterhead, having missed "the seals," succeeded in catching ten, the oil of which realised a good price. The Peterhead whalers had long been in the habit of catching an occasional bottle-nose, but the *Jan Mayen* was the first ship to make a profit out of their pursuit. In whaling, as in other commercial pursuits, £. s. d. counts. In 1880 my father caught thirty-two, in 1881 thirty-nine, and in 1882, giving more time to their pursuit, two hundred and three.

Although the Peterhead ships started the bottle-nose whaling, the industry, after a few years, fell into the hands of the Norwegians. This was due, not to any superior skill on the part of the interlopers, but to a fall in the price of the oil. At about £30 per ton, the price to which it fell in 1883, the Peterhead and Dundee ships could no longer make the venture pay. Contrary to what is usually supposed, in 1882 the knowledge the Norwegians had of deep sea whaling was nil. This much may be gathered from what Dr. Nansen says in Chapter IX of his "Hunting and Adventure in the Arctic"; and also, I believe, from what Aagaard says in his "Fangst og Forskning I Sydhavet," at any rate, in a letter dated 1935 the author says, "I mention in my book that your father taught the Norwegians how to kill the bottle-nose whale." In 1883 the crew of the *Erik*, my uncle A.'s ship, included

*Specimens which I took home and had examined proved to be the well-known cuttle-fish *Gonatus fabricii*.

†In 1883 the *Windward's* people removed a fœtus from a bottle-nose; it measured 10 feet 2 inches in length and 5 feet 2 inches in circumference. In 1884 the same ship killed a bottle-nose which, according to her log-book, measured 15 feet round the eyes.

two or three smart-looking Norwegians. Was it for nothing that these men took the trouble to sail on a Peterhead ship? In 1886 bottle-nose oil was selling for only £17 or £18 per ton, yet the Norwegians still contrived to make the business pay. In 1887 their bottle-nosing fleet (consisting mostly of small craft) numbered thirty, and a few years later three times as many.

My experience of this fishing is confined to the seasons 1883, 1887, 1888, 1889 and 1890.

In 1883 we got 157, mostly in May and June. Jan Mayen, with its lofty mountain, the nearest land, was sometimes in sight, but the "Island," as we called it, was usually either too far off, or was hidden by cloud or fog. Operations were confined to the day-time, and to occasions when the weather was clear and the sea more or less smooth. We got our first one on the 1st of May. Below and asleep when it was struck, I was awakened by the pandemonium that suddenly broke out. I hurried on deck as quickly as I could: the weather was fine and the sea smooth. The "fast-boat" (down at the head, and flying a red flag) and its companion (ready to supply extra line) were in sight, and not far from the ship's stern. While I was engaged in watching them, the other boats were either being lowered or were leaving the ship's side. After a time the entangled whale and its companions appeared ahead of the "fast-boat" giving signs of exhaustion after its futile visit to the depths. It was not, however, given time to regain its strength. The other boats had by this time appeared on the scene, and as soon as it was observed the nearest one approached it and welcomed it with a harpoon in the neck. This accomplished, but not before, it was killed by means of a lance thrust repeatedly into its chest. While receiving its *coup de grâce* in this manner, it tugged violently at the boat, and along with its breath, threw up quantities of blood. Before a whale dies it falls over on its side and, going into a "flurry" or convulsion, lashes the water white with its fins and tail. This event being at hand, the line was relaxed and the boat removed to a safe distance. The "flurry" over, the animal lay dead at the surface and was easily retrieved. In the meantime, perhaps another whale had been struck and entangled and history had begun to repeat itself at the expense of the same unfortunate herd. If I remember rightly, the day's hunt yielded us five whales. At its conclusion, the men having refreshed themselves, the work of flaying or flensing the dead whales commenced. Their heads were cut off and hoisted on deck. The head of a big male stood 5 or

6 feet in height, and must have weighed 2 or 3 tons. Some had two pairs of teeth, and one which I can remember had stalked barnacles attached to them. We hoisted one whale on board, although only a calf, it was 17 or 18 feet in length, and must have weighed 3 or 4 tons. One which we lost we afterwards came across floating dead. It floated high in the water, had a most unpleasant smell, and was surrounded by sharks and birds. Leaving the neighbourhood of Jan Mayen, we arrived in due course at the Shetlands and Peterhead.

APPENDIX I

STATISTICS

Ship	*Tons*	*Master*	*Date*	*Seals*	*Whales*	*Oil Tons*
			1799			
Robert	169	Geary	? ?	—	8	96
			1807*			
Hope	240	A. Geary	Mar. 28—June 11	—	9	146
Enterprise	290	W. Volum	,, 28—July 26	—	34	172
			1814			
Hope	240	T. Philips	Apr. 5—July 7	—	14	157
Resolution	400	J. Sutter	,, 7 ,, 18	—	44	299
Enterprise	290	A. Geary	,, 5 ,, 19	—	24	183
Active	308	D. Gray	,, 6 ,, 22	—	22	232
Union	225	W. Hutchison	,, 5 ,, 22	—	17	172
Dexterity	321	G. Sangster	,, 26 ,, 26	—	25	196
Perseverance	240	W. Penny	,, 7—Aug. 10	—	17	151
			1822			
Alert	314	W. Penny	? Aug. 30	—	5	66
Hope	240	W. Robertson	? Sept. 6	—	4	75
Dexterity	321	R. Robertson	? ,, 8	—	4	45
Eclipse	283	J. Sutter	? ,, 9	—	1	9
Union	225	T. Mackie	? ,, 11	2500	5	65
Gleaner	262	J. Shand	? ,, 11	—	8	91
Jean	235	T. Stafford	? ,, 11	—	4	55
Perseverance	240	G. Simpson	? ,, 11	—	4	61
Mary	157	A. Thom	? ,, 14	1000	1	27

*1807 was a "close" season, and the *Enterprise* was one of the ships that forced a way north. It will be seen that her catch consisted of many small whales.

Ship	*Tons*	*Master*	*Date*	*Seals*	*Whales*	*Oil Tons*
			1838			
Mary	157	J. Butter	Mar. 25—July 5	2900	—	24
Eclipse	283	J. Gray	,, 16 ,, 18	5500	22	160
Superior	306	D. Manson	,, 14 ,, 18	4946	4	94
Resolution	293	J. Hogg	,, 14 ,, 18	1800	6	75
Gleaner	262	G. Anderson	,, 16 ,, 20	4500	4	75
Perseverance	240	J. Ogston	,, 13 ,, 22	4500	10	125
Commerce	276	R. Martin	,, 13 ,, 24	4500	12	101½
			1847			
Enterprise	349	R. Martin	Feb. 16—July 19	8700	6½	160
Gleaner	262	J. Johnstone	,, 17—Aug. 21	3295	1	51
Commerce	276	A. Ogston	,, 18 ,, 11	3098	2	51
Hamilton Ross	289	P. Burnett	,, 20—July 18	5696	1	74
North of Scotland	279	W. Allan	,, 20—Aug. 13	5635	1⅓	80
Dublin	328	W. Mackie	,, 22—July 24	6060	4	99
Union	225	R. Robertson	Mar. 1—Aug. 13	7500	2	91
Hannibal	315	J. Lowrie	,, 1 ,, 10	4130	3	63
Superior	306	D. Manson	,, 18 ,, 13	756	2	28
Eclipse	283	J. Gray	,, 14 ,, 27	3400	9	163
			1856			
Active		D. Gray	Feb. 21—July 13	3200	9	150
Agostina	?	G. Sellar	,, 9—Aug. 16	300	5	33
Alert	130	Watson	,, 27—May 29	600	—	6
Arctic	?	J. Reid	,, 21 ,, 28	700	—	7
Brilliant	?	Alexander	,, 20—Aug. 5	2000	3	40
Columbia	?	Allerdyce	,, 9 ,, 16	2000	4	70
Commerce	?	D. Ewan	,, 9—May 23	2500	—	25
Clara	?	Soutter	,, 18 ,, 24	1300	—	13
Dublin	328	T. Mackie	,, 21—July 25	4800	3	95
Eliza	?	Abernethy	,, 25—June 18	2500	—	30
Elena	?	W. Sellar	,, 22—Aug. 10	1800	2	34
Fairy	?	Taylor	,, 20—June 10	1000	—	14
Gem	?	D. Gregory	Mar. 1 ,, 19	800	—	8
Gipsy	?	F. Henry	Feb. 21—Aug. 9	?	?	50
Intrepid		R. Martin	,, 22 ,, 10	300	6	65
Kate	?	J. Scott	,, 20 ,, 16	2000	5	50
Mazinthien	?	Allan	,, 21 ,, 9	3500	1	56
North of Scotland	279	J. Manson	,, 20 ,, 23	—	2	12

1856—(*continued*)

Ship	*Tons*	*Master*	*Date*	*Seals*	*Whales*	*Oil Tons*
Perseverance	163	Brown	Feb. 25—June 18	800	—	8
Pomona	?	Robertson	,, 26—May 23	900	—	9
Queen	?	J. Gray, Jr.	,, 22—Aug. 4	—	6	65
Resolution	?	Bruce	,, 20—June 12	7000	—	90
Sir Colin Campbell	?	R. Birnie	,, 22 ?	—	4	40
Undaunted	?	A. Walker	,, 20—June 10	2000	—	30
Union	?	Stephen	,, 9 ,, 18	400	—	4
Victor	?	R. Martin, Jr.	,, 22—Aug. 18	—	7	75
Xanthus	?	Cheyne	,, 25—June 17	92	—	9

1866

Active	?	D. Gray	Mar. 3—July 18	6000	14	200
Columbia	?	T. Mackie	,, 3—Aug. 9	6000	—	75
Jan Mayen	?	R. Martin, Jr.	Feb. 20—Aug. 1	1000	9	110
Mazinthien, S.S.	?	J. Gray	Mar. 19—May 2	9300	—	115
Polar Star	215	Sellar	,, 3—Aug. 7	2000	6	80
Windward, S.S.	?	W. Sellar	,, 5—May 8	6550	—	80
Xanthus	?	Taylor	Feb. 22—June 13	300	—	3
Kate	?	R. Martin	,, 20—July 25	—	6	70
Lord Saltoun	?	Martin	Mar. 5—May 3	3000	—	40

The *Mazinthien* and *Windward* made second voyages to Davis Strait. The *Lord Saltoun* sailed again on 6th June for Cumberland Gulf.

1872

Active, S.S.	?	R. Martin	Feb. 26—July 6	1100	2	58
Alibi	?	T. Mackie	,, 24 ,, 28	?	?	25
Eclipse, S.S.	436	D. Gray	Mar. 6—Aug. 15	—	15	235
Jan Mayen, S.S.	?	Salmond	,, 7—July 16	4600	—	65
Mazinthien, S.S.	405	J. Gray	Mar. 7—July 30	—	3	30
Polar Star	?	McDougall	Feb. 27 ,, 16	1000	—	20
Windward, S.S.	?	W. Sellar	,, 27 ,, 31	500	2	40

1882

Alert	130	Mackie	? ?	2250	9	75
Eclipse, S.S.	436	D. Gray	? ?	468	203	230
Hope, S.S.	451	J. Gray	?	returned from seal-fishing with a broken shaft.		
Windward, S.S.	?	Murray	? ?	245	103	115

1883

Ship	*Tons*	*Master*	*Date*		*Seals*	*Whales*	*Oil Tons*
Alert	130	Mackie	?	?	1500	25	75
Eclipse, S.S.	436	D. Gray	?	?	4600	157	205
Erik, S.S.	512	A. Gray	?	?	2200	92	114
Hope	451	J. Gray	?	?	4000	1	79
Perseverance	163	Walker	?	?	—	24	24
Windward, S.S.	?	Murray	?	?	150	80	78

APPENDIX II

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